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# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4871**st meeting

Monday, 24 November 2003, 10.20 a.m.

New York

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| *President:* | Mr. Gaspar Martins | (Angola) |
| *Members:* | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Belinga-Eboutou |
| | Chile | Mr. Muñoz |
| | China | Mr. Wang Guangya |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Khalid |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Konuzin |
| | Spain | Ms. Menéndez |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Emyr Jones Parry |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

Central African Region

Letter dated 10 November 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2993/1077)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-62811 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Central African Region**

**Letter dated 10 November 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/1077)**

**The President:** I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chad, the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Italy and Rwanda in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, the representatives of the aforementioned countries took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.*

**The President:** In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

It is so agreed.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 21 November 2003 from the Chargé d'affaires of the Republic of the Congo to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the CEEAC Group at the United Nations, I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Amadou Kébé, Ambassador, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations, to address the Council under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure in the course of the Council's consideration of the agenda item 'Central African Region'".

That letter will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2003/1115.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Amadou Kébé.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Amadou Kébé to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs of the Economic Community of Central African States, Mr. Nelson Cosme.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Nelson Cosme to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/1077, which contains a letter dated 10 November 2003 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council transmitting the interim report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African region.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs.

I now give the floor to Mr. Kalomoh.

**Mr. Kalomoh:** It is my pleasure to be here today as the Council considers the Secretary-General's letter dated 10 November 2003 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/1077), by which the Secretary-General submitted to the Council the interim

report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion.

Last June, I had the privilege to head the multidisciplinary assessment mission that the Secretary-General dispatched to the Central African subregion pursuant to a request by the Security Council contained in the final paragraph of its presidential statement of 31 October 2002 (S/PRST/2002/31) to explore ways to implement

> "a comprehensive, integrated and resolute approach to the issues of peace, security and development in Central Africa."

I am glad to report that the mission was well received in all 11 member States of the Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS). We met with heads of State and of Government and with other senior Government officials. We also held extensive consultations with leaders of main political parties, representatives of civil society and of non-governmental organizations, business and religious leaders and members of the diplomatic community in each of the countries we visited, as well as United Nations agencies, programmes and peace-building and peacekeeping missions.

The mission submitted its report to the Secretary-General on 10 September 2003. In line with its mandate, the mission identified the priority needs and challenges in various areas in the subregion, including peace and security, economic and social development, humanitarian affairs, human rights, HIV/AIDS, subregional institutions, United Nations activities in the subregion, and regional integration.

The mission's report stressed the need for the United Nations to help the subregion implement subregional policies and to support efforts directed at addressing cross-cutting challenges, including the promotion of good governance.

The mission emphasized that, as a result of the interlinkages between poverty and conflict, it is essential for the United Nations and its agencies to develop a holistic and integrated approach to the problem of Central Africa in order to address conflicts at their core and to enhance the ability of national, subregional and international actors to be more proactive in identifying and preventing future threats. As indicated in his letter to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General is in general agreement with the assessment made by the mission. However, the Secretary-General believes that there is a need to undertake further examination of the root causes of the conflicts that have plagued some of the countries in the subregion. Thus, he has requested a thorough review of United Nations programmes with a view to enhancing their coherence and effectiveness.

With regard to the strong desire expressed by most Government leaders in the subregion, for an enhanced United Nations presence, including through the establishment of a United Nations office headed by a special representative, the Secretary-General has indicated in his letter to the President of the Council that there are already a number of United Nations structures in the subregion, including three offices headed by special representatives of the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General noted that there are also numerous initiatives that encompass a larger number of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) member States. Against this background, the Secretary-General has proposed to appoint a special envoy who would be available as required to work closely on political issues with Governments in the subregion and who would also interface with United Nations entities involved in development and humanitarian activities in the Central African subregion. We stressed in the mission report that while the restoration and consolidation of lasting peace in some of the countries of the Central African subregion remain the primary responsibility of the Governments and peoples of the subregion, the United Nations and the rest of the international community should continue to be supportive in order for the peace to be sustainable.

We therefore wish to call upon the international community to continue to support the efforts of the ECCAS countries so as to promote sustainable peace and development and enable them to effectively curb widespread circulation of weapons and gangs of mercenaries in the subregion. In this connection, the Security Council's continued attention to the developments in the Central African subregion — which has significantly contributed to creating greater awareness of and understanding for the need for immediate and effective action to stabilize the situation in the area and which led to the dispatch of the mission to the Central African subregion — is essential and should be continued.

It is also important for the international community to support the economic stabilization of the Central African countries, which are emerging from conflict and embarking on the road to democratic reform.

As stressed in our report, we strongly believe that policies to promote respect for human rights and the rule of law and the development of inclusive and responsive Governments would facilitate the consolidation of peace and stability in the countries of the Central African subregion.

The Central African subregion has been blessed with enormous human and natural resources. Thus, a climate of sustainable peace backed by constructive national and subregional policies and supportive international cooperation would help direct those resources towards the improvement of conditions for the people of the subregion.

On behalf of the Secretary-General, I wish to reassure the participants gathered here today that the United Nations will continue to work with the countries and the peoples of the Central African subregion to help them build a more peaceful and prosperous subregion.

**The President**: I thank the Assistant Secretary-General for his briefing.

**Mr. Belinga-Eboutou** (Cameroon) (spoke in French): Once again I would like to extend the appreciation of my delegation to the Secretary-General for having sent out the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion last June. I also thank him for having made the report of that mission available to us now. I thank Mr. Tuliameni Kalomoh, the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, for his eloquent introduction to the mission's report.

Before offering any comments on the report I would like to congratulate Mr. Kalomoh and his team for the energetic manner in which the mission tackled its mandate and for the very serious approach taken therein. Like other countries in Central Africa, Cameroon attached fundamental importance to the work given to the mission. We have been awaiting the recommendations of the Secretary-General with great interest.

The representative of the Republic of the Congo currently serves as Chairman of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and I will leave it to the representative of ECCAS to review the various issues raised in the report. I associate myself with everything he will say on our behalf.

I would confine myself at this point to certain aspects of the mandate of the mission. The mission was asked to determine what the main priority needs and problems were in the subregion and to hold consultations with Governments to determine how best to strengthen cooperation with the United Nations in order to meet the needs of the Central African subregion. It was also asked to determine measures to be taken at the subregional level by ECCAS and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC), with assistance from the United Nations system. Lastly, it was asked to make recommendations on the best ways in which the international community could support programmes aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of subregional efforts and mechanisms.

As can be seen from reading the report, the mandate was discharged and discharged well. But one point remains that relates to the outcome of the consultations with member States on how to strengthen cooperation with the United Nations. At the talks, according to our information, the countries of Central Africa strongly urged the introduction of a United Nations political presence in the subregion through the establishment of a subregional office that could specifically facilitate, inter alia, the integrated, overall approach that the Security Council recommended.

The report before us, in its observations section, does not resolve that concern that was so strongly voiced by the Governments of the subregion, and that has given rise to a feeling of disquiet, indeed, of disappointment, in the subregion. Why does the mission — after devoting an entire section to the question of a United Nations political presence in Central Africa — neglect that issue in the recommendations made in its final observations? Perhaps some clues to an explanation could be found in reading the letter of transmission from the Secretary-General. But reading that letter simply increases the sense of disquiet and disappointment that I mentioned before. The Secretary-General's letter begins by suggesting that a United Nations political presence in Central Africa is something called for by "most" of the subregion. In other words, to further clarify, the need for a United Nations political presence is not something that was expressed by all of the members of

the subregion, by all the members of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) — because that group essentially is Central Africa.

I would be happy to hear from the Assistant Secretary-General who led the mission how many of the countries he met with objected to the idea of an enhanced United Nations presence in Central Africa through the establishment of an office there. I would appreciate his reply in his capacity as head of that mission. While awaiting that response, I would like to say that — given the information that I have — I believe the request for an increased United Nations presence comes from the membership of our subregion as a whole. The request was made explicitly in certain documents, some of which are available at the United Nations. I refer, in particular, to the deliberations of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa and I believe our President will revert to that question. Thus, from the information we have, Central Africa unanimously desires an increased United Nations presence in the form of a subregional office. So, for that reason, it is not quite proper to say that "most" of the countries supported the proposal. That was my first point.

My second point, in rereading the Secretary-General's letter, is that he says that while it is true that the Central African States want an increased United Nations presence, there are problems, one of which is the proliferation of offices and special representatives in the subregion. That is true. But I would note that Central Africa does not have a monopoly on having a profusion of United Nations offices — that is the case in other subregions. However, that has not prevented, the Secretary-General, at least in the recent past, from setting up an institution or an office such as the one proposed by the Central African subregion in this case.

In addition, it bears remembering that the offices in question are national offices, national structures, and they deal with very specific issues, not with regional issues as a whole. So those offices and their leadership cannot really help in advocating the integrated, global and comprehensive approach that is needed in Central Africa. I can give you as an example some of the offices which I am aware, such as an office in the Central African Republic that deals with Central African Republic issues; an office in Burundi that deals with issues relating to Burundi; and a mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that deals with matters relating to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There is no structure for Central Africa as a subregion.

The Secretary-General says in his letter that the person he would appoint would work in collaboration with his special representatives in the subregion. Now, who are those special representatives of the Secretary-General in our subregion? We do not know them. We know that there is one representative charged with a very specific mandate: the preparations for the international conference on the Great Lakes region. But, as far as concerns the Central African subregion — made up the members of ECCAS — as far as we are aware, we do not have a special representative for our subregion.

There is a third point I would like to make about the Secretary-General's letter. There is a reference to certain circumstances that could foster the establishment of a regional office: specifically, he refers to the need for a study on the causes of conflict in Central Africa. But we would question the advisability of such an exercise for two reasons. First, Central Africa itself has carried out a study within the context of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa. The outcome of that study was published in a United Nations document (A/50/474), which is available. So why should a new study be carried out? Secondly, it should be pointed out that the Secretary-General himself, a few years later, published a report on the causes of conflict in Africa, which dealt with the entire issue. We cannot understand what new insight the study to be carried out is supposed to provide.

The last point underscored in the Secretary-General's letter — which is seen to effectively prevent any discussion of the creation of a United Nations office at the moment — relates to preparations under way for a conference on the Great Lakes region. One would therefore have to wait until all of that is finished, especially since there are ECCAS countries that are parties involved in this conference as well.

But I think that here also we have to distinguish between two things. The conference on the Great Lakes covers one very specific subregion, even though three or four countries in our subregion are affected by what happens there. But in no way does the Great Lakes conference concern the Economic Community of Central African States. I think we have to draw that

distinction. Central Africa has its own identity; it should not just be hooked onto other entities.

I apologize if I have spoken at some length, but I am saying this so that the members of the Council, who called for this study and gave a mandate to the mission, will be fully informed about what has happened and is happening.

Just one last comment. The report before us has been available since 10 September, but as far as members of the Council are concerned, I believe it is only this month that we were able to have in English a report that deals with basically a French-speaking subregion. That did not facilitate the study of the report in our capitals, and that is one of the reasons why most of the ministers that might have attended this debate were not able to come.

Central Africa has come to the Security Council to say exactly what Central Africa is and what it hopes for from the Security Council and the United Nations. Central Africa has come to request, and it has requested, of the United Nations that it be present permanently, not just on an ad hoc basis, that the United Nations have a permanent presence in Central Africa. Central Africa hopes that the United Nations will do its utmost to ensure that a positive response can be provided to that request, a request made and repeated on good grounds, I believe.

We might have expected financial factors to be somewhat of a hindrance. Central Africa is saying that the United Nations does in fact have sufficient existing resources and structures. It is a question of seeing how those existing structures and resources can be used to ensure a permanent United Nations presence.

My delegation hopes that at the end of our deliberations, the statement that will be negotiated in the next few days and then adopted may reconfirm the need for a comprehensive, agreed-on and integrated approach. It is our hope that the Council will take note of and be pleased by the interest shown by Central Africa in having a United Nations presence there and will welcome the proposal by the heads of State.

And lastly, it is our hope that the Secretary-General might be requested to see how the request can be met within existing resources. Experience shows us that our requests can be handled swiftly and effectively. Perhaps it could be specified just when the Secretary-General would report to the Council on how this matter has been handled. As a mission has already been carried out, three months or six months might be appropriate, but in any case, a date must be set.

I apologize for having spoken at such length, but I do believe that this matter is particularly important. Central Africa wants to work with the United Nations. Central Africa is requesting, imploring the United Nations to have a permanent presence in the subregion, so that it can monitor closely what is happening there and provide assistance on an ongoing basis to the States in the subregion.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank the mission directed by the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Kalomoh, for the assessment contained in the report before us.

My country shares the mission's analysis as to the regional nature of certain problems in Central Africa in a variety of areas — cross-border movements of armed groups, movements of armies, child soldiers, refugees and displaced persons, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, illegal exploitation of natural resources and insufficient economic integration of the region. It is therefore useful and necessary for the States of the region and the international community to coordinate appropriate responses.

Security issues, of course, are of a priority nature. Efforts of the international community with regard to peacekeeping should be supported and coordinated, especially those of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the African Union force in Burundi, or of the Central African Economic Monetary Community in the Central African Republic. It also seems to us that the initiatives to better coordinate disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants in the regional framework — especially those of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme — should of course take fully into account the regional dimension.

It seems to us also that countries of the subregion and the international community should exert every effort to combat arms trafficking. That is why we wish the Council to soon set up a monitoring mechanism to improve application of the embargo on arms and on support to armed groups in the east of the Congo.

Grave humanitarian problems of the subregion recalled by the mission — especially the considerable

number of displaced persons and refugees and challenges to public health posed by the AIDS pandemic — are equally urgent. They could only benefit from cooperation in the subregional framework. The sustained return of the subregion to peace and stability also requires action for development and for combating poverty. As the mission has stressed, if they are to take advantage of the economic potential of their subregion, the States of the subregion must develop true economic regional cooperation involving the free movement of persons and goods and the development of communications infrastructures.

Let me turn now to the issue of structures. We feel that, with respect to structures, the Secretary-General's proposal to appoint a special envoy to assist the countries of the subregion and provide liaison with United Nations agencies should be considered in the context of the international conference on the Great Lakes region. I note that our colleague Ambassador Belinga-Eboutou has reminded us that there is no precise equation between countries participating in the conference on the Great Lakes and all those that broadly constitute the Central African region. It may be true that there is no strict equivalence, but there are more than four such countries. Some would urge the participation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's neighbours in the first round of the conference, but the conference will undoubtedly have a significant impact on cooperation between many countries of the region and on their relations with the United Nations. That is why we believe that, given the importance of the conference, it is logical in this context that we consider the modalities of the United Nations involvement in the subregion and the need to develop structures, as necessary.

We are, of course, very attentive to all we are told by the Secretary-General and to what the other members of the Security Council will say today, but I wished to offer that thought this morning because I wanted to convey our perception of the issue at this stage.

**Mr. Diallo** (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): This meeting on the situation in Central Africa, in connection with the report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission, is extremely timely. It complements the views and observations we heard just four days ago, on 20 November, on the situation in the Great Lakes region, of which several countries of Central Africa are part.

I should like to compliment the Secretary-General on the high quality of his report before us and to thank Mr. Kalomoh for introducing it. The report clearly shows that the situation in Central Africa is made extremely unstable by local, external and transborder issues; the solution to which will require a regional approach. Illicit arms and drug trafficking and the proliferation of militias are just some of the elements that rightly put peace and security at the very heart of the concerns of the States of the region. According to some estimates, seven of 11 countries are either in conflict or in post-conflict situations.

To deal with security problems in general, Central Africa now has the Protocol on the Council for Peace and Security and the Mutual Assistance Pact, signed in Malabo on 24 February 2000. We are pleased to see that the countries of the region have increasingly committed themselves in recent months to the peaceful settlement of their disputes. I wish to note a few examples of this.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Government of National Unity and Transition is addressing the urgent tasks of recovery. The Central African Republic is pursuing, albeit not without problems, the crucial process of national reconciliation. The recent agreement between the Government of Burundi and the Forces pour la défense de la démocratie is part of that same dynamic of peace. Such considerable progress follows on the success in Angola, which suffered many years of conflict and their incalculable consequences. Thus, the prospects for political change in Central Africa are good. That is why we believe it necessary, if these prospects are to be realized, to maintain and strengthen the international partnership with the region.

My delegation believes that the efforts of the States of the region undoubtedly reflect their political will to build a secure environment conducive to development. A regional approach to recovery must be further consolidated and supported by an international mechanism for assistance. We believe that a common multidisciplinary structure with sufficient resources would best meet the needs of the region. We note with interest the Secretary-General's intention to appoint a special envoy for Central Africa to address political issues and relations with the United Nations system and to support with concrete measures the capacities of the Economic Community of Central African States and other existing mechanisms. We also welcome the

thorough review requested by the Secretary-General of the programmes of the United Nations with a view to enhancing their effectiveness and coherence.

In conclusion, we appeal to the States of the region to maintain their efforts to eliminate threats to peace and security by pursuing their courageous, essential and often painful efforts to promote human rights, combat impunity, reorganize their judiciary systems and liberalize their economies, especially along the borders.

**Mr. Wang Guangya** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation welcomes your presidency of today's meeting, Sir. We are also grateful to Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh and to the representative of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) for their briefings.

We appreciate the work done by the multidisciplinary assessment mission. In its report, the mission makes many useful recommendations on the search for solutions to the problems of Central Africa. We believe that these recommendations must be implemented as soon as possible and we hope that the Security Council will give them serious consideration.

As the mission's report points out, Central Africa is rich in natural resources, yet one of the world's least developed regions. In 7 of the 11 countries visited, over 50 per cent of the population lives below the poverty line. A major cause of this situation are the armed conflicts that have long plagued the region. Over the past decade, many countries of Central Africa have undergone armed conflicts of varied intensity. Some continue to suffer such conflicts or face the heavy burden of post-conflict peace-building.

Putting an end to conflict, achieving national reconciliation and advancing on the path of sustainable development represent major challenges to the Central African countries and the international community. We believe that we must make efforts in the following three areas to address the issues of Central Africa.

First, the efforts of the countries and people concerned are key. We are pleased to note that the peace process in Angola is being consolidated. The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is developing positively. The peace and reconciliation process in Burundi has made progress, and the situation in the Central African Republic is also improving steadily. All these achievements are inseparable from the unremitting efforts made by the Governments and peoples concerned. Events have proven that there can be no lasting peace without the political will of the countries concerned; no outside force can replace their role.

Secondly, regional organizations must do more to help. Many countries in Central Africa have similar cultures and historical backgrounds. Conflict in one country can easily spread to neighbouring countries, impacting on the entire region. Therefore, addressing the issues of Central Africa must begin with a regional perspective, using a comprehensive strategy. That is precisely what the region and subregion concerned can do best. In recent years, organizations such as the African Union, ECCAS and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC) have taken positive measures to resolve armed conflicts in various countries, stabilize the political situation and promote integration. All those efforts have had excellent results. We hope that those organizations will take into consideration the specific characteristics of their region and continue to play an important role in promoting long-term peace and stability in the region.

Thirdly, the international community must provide broad support. Over the years, the United Nations, through peacekeeping operations in the Central African region, peace-building support offices and special envoys, has actively helped the countries of the region in their peacekeeping and rehabilitation efforts. We support a greater role of the United Nations in order to achieve peace and development in Central Africa and to help the various countries and regional organizations in their efforts for capacity-building and conflict prevention. We also support the proposal of the Secretary-General to appoint a special envoy for Central Africa. From the report of the mission, we can see that, as a result of inadequate financial and technical support, it is hard for some Central African countries to maintain their hard-won peace.

We call upon the international community, especially Africa's development partners, to increase their political support to this region, especially economic and financial support, so as to help the countries concerned to eradicate poverty and to prevent and treat AIDS.

As a friend of Africa, China closely follows the situation in Central Africa. China has duly made efforts to help the countries concerned to end their armed

conflict and achieve economic development. China has taken part in the peace operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and has provided logistical support to the peace force of the African Union deployed in Burundi. Through bilateral channels, China has also provided economic support to some Central African countries. We expect to strengthen cooperation with Central African countries in all aspects in order to make our due contribution to achieving lasting peace, stability and development in the region.

**Mr. Pleuger** (Germany): First, I would like to thank Mr. Kalomoh for his briefing. I would also like to associate myself with the statement to be made later in this discussion by the European Union presidency.

The informative report of the Secretary-General underscores the fact that despite encouraging developments, the Central African region is still affected by crises and conflicts. We share the Secretary-General's analysis that a subregional approach offers the best chance for a comprehensive strategy that takes into account the complex and diverse root causes of the conflicts. The peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi will, hopefully, have an impact on regional stabilization, despite the many challenges that need to be met. In that respect, we regret that the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion was unable to visit the Central African Republic. Despite some steps in the right direction, the situation there remains fragile and requires the Security Council's continued attention.

The subregional approach, in our view, means, first and foremost, strengthening existing subregional mechanisms. Let me highlight that with two examples. The first is the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which enjoys the broadest membership of countries in the subregion and should therefore be in an ideal position to develop regional strategies. Like other subregional organizations however, ECCAS suffers from inadequate capacities. Another example is the lack of effective regional capacities for conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region. The United Nations, the African Union and individual African countries play an important role in mediating between parties to conflicts and in peacekeeping in the Great Lakes region mainly because there are no adequate subregional structures in place.

One of the outcomes of the Great Lakes region conference will be programmes and action plans for regional cooperation and development. We believe that such initiatives should also aim at strengthening existing mechanisms and organizations and at furthering cooperation between them.

It is for the countries in the Central African subregion itself to establish clear guidelines and to avoid duplication of efforts. A clear division of labour and responsibilities between the regional organizations, as well as between them and the African Union, would be most useful. Also cooperation between the subregional organizations and the United Nations would undoubtedly benefit from such streamlining efforts.

Likewise, the United Nations itself must avoid duplication of mechanisms. It is difficult to see how a mandate for an additional special envoy for Central Africa could avoid overlapping with the mandate of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region, which the Security Council has just renewed for another year. We would therefore prefer for the United Nations missions in the Central African subregion to identify possible areas of cooperation aimed at effectively addressing cross-cutting issues. Cross-cutting issues are trafficking in small arms and light weapons, the proliferation of armed groups and programmes for disarmament, demobilization and the successful reintegration of former combatants into regular armies or civilian life. These are all key issues for most of the countries emerging from conflict.

The Multicountry Demobilization and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) is an initiative to address that multifaceted problem. Germany's contribution to the programme amounts to 30 million euros, which is roughly $35 million.

MDRP has substantial means at its disposal and stands ready to fund projects in addition to the quick impact projects for demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers that have already been put into place.

But while MDRP follows a pragmatic and flexible approach, national disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes are a prerequisite. We urge the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi to establish their national programmes. In this respect, it is an encouraging sign that the transitional Government of the Democratic

Republic of the Congo has formed a technical coordination and planning committee to this end.

**Mr. Khalid** (Pakistan): We wish to thank Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Kalomoh for introducing the interim report of the multidisciplinary mission to the Central African subregion.

Pakistan supports the United Nations efforts aimed at developing a comprehensive and integrated subregional approach to the issues of peace, security and development in Central Africa. We have repeatedly stated this in the context of the Great Lakes region and the region of West Africa.

While Central Africa is potentially one of the richest subregions in Africa, it is at the same time mired in armed conflicts, instability, underdevelopment and poverty. The solutions to some of these cross-cutting and transborder issues need to be found through a comprehensive and holistic approach, as stated in the Secretary-General's report (S/2003/1077). In taking such an approach, the root causes of conflict and instability, as well as their symptoms and effects, have to be addressed.

The report identifies some of the most important priority needs and challenges facing the Central African subregion and makes pertinent observations. We would welcome follow-up recommendations and action by the Secretariat on how to address some of the key areas identified in the report.

I would like to take this opportunity to make a few comments on the report and the observations therein.

First, we believe that the international community has as much of a responsibility and interest in the restoration and consolidation of lasting peace in Central Africa as do the Governments and peoples of the subregion.

Secondly, the issue of poverty and underdevelopment, which is the root cause of conflict and instability in that subregion, needs to be addressed on a priority basis. We support the need for a more proactive approach to this issue, but the solutions should be global, not local.

Thirdly, humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance must be stepped up in the region. This is the necessary first step in the recovery and rehabilitation of the countries and peoples affected by conflict and instability.

Fourthly, addressing health issues and pandemics affecting the region, especially HIV/AIDS, should also be accorded high priority. This problem, unless addressed, poses as much, if not greater a threat to the countries and peoples of the subregion.

Fifthly, in supporting good governance in the countries of the subregion, strengthening institutional capacities and the justice systems must be accorded high priority.

Sixthly, in addressing peace and security challenges in the subregion, we need, inter alia, to address the issue of the financing of the illegal exploitation of natural resources and drugs in the countries of the region, which may be in part financing arms flows and mercenary and militia activities, as well as perpetuating the conflict. Last week, in the debate on the Great Lakes region, our delegation called for the establishment of a monitoring mechanism to check the illegal exploitation of natural resources and arms flows in the region. The monitoring mechanism, once established for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, can be gradually extended to the entire region to cover the issue of drugs as well as mercenaries.

Finally, the work of the multidisciplinary approach of the Secretariat must be supported and complemented by an integrated and joint response from the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Here again I would refer the Council to our proposal to establish ad hoc composite committees of the three principal organs of the United Nations to address these cross-cutting issues in a comprehensive manner.

**Mr. Atieh** (Syria) (*spoke in Arabic*): We appreciate the holding of this meeting devoted to Central Africa and we highly appreciate the efforts of Mr. Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, who presided over the United Nations assessment mission in Central Africa. We are grateful for the detailed report he has presented to the Council on this subject.

We fully agree with the comments made by the mission to the effect that we must face the challenges arising for the region, which go well beyond the national borders of the States of the region and which call for a subregional integrated approach

supplementing national solutions and providing a sound foundation for such solutions.

My delegation has likewise taken note of the report of the Secretary-General (S/2003/1077) that proposes appointing a special envoy to address political matters with the States of the subregion, who would cooperate with United Nations agencies and mechanisms dealing with humanitarian and development affairs for Central Africa.

A few days ago, the Council reviewed the importance of holding an international conference on the Great Lakes region. We would renew our appeal to all States of the region to participate in that conference, which could bring about the goal we are pursuing in the subregion, namely, that of achieving peace, security, stability, cooperation and development.

My delegation supports all regional, subregional, national and international efforts to deal with the major challenges facing Central Africa, to resolve armed conflicts, to prevent the transfer of weapons across national borders, to dismantle armed groups, to help refugees, to supply all necessary humanitarian assistance to peoples of the region, and to help the States of the region to combat poverty. Despite the vast natural resources of that subregion, it is in fact prevented from drawing any benefit from its resources to further its development.

We believe that the Security Council's support for the peace process in the Central African subregion is an urgent and indispensable task. The States of the subregion cannot face all these challenges alone. We have seen this in the case of Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other States. Consequently, it is imperative for the international community to provide economic assistance to the States of the subregion to help them deal with their challenges and overcome obstacles in economic and development areas.

In conclusion, we highly appreciate the efforts of the economic community of the States of the region, as well as the efforts of the United Nations office, towards overcoming the difficulties faced by the countries of Central Africa.

**Ms. Menéndez** (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open meeting on the Central African region. Thanks also go to Mr. Kalomoh for presenting the interim report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion (S/2003/1077), which took place in June.

My delegation associates itself with the statement to be made shortly by the representative of Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Union. Therefore, I shall confine myself to a few brief additional comments.

We agree with the analysis made in the report regarding identification of the principal challenges faced by the region. The challenges to peace and security, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the lack of development, HIV/AIDS, the human rights situation and the precariousness of the humanitarian situation are the most urgent of those challenges. A comprehensive and effective response to all of those issues requires an integrated subregional approach.

In that connection, we support the review of the United Nations programmes in the region, mentioned in the report's introduction, as a way to improve the consistency and effectiveness of the Organization's activities in Central Africa. We hope to receive subsequent information from the Secretariat on that point. We agree with the report that the United Nations has structures in the region at its disposal, and therefore it is preferable to make effective and coordinated use of the existing structures before considering the possibility of establishing new ones.

I shall refer briefly to a number of the elements identified in the report of the Secretary-General — specifically, some of the principal challenges to peace and security; the effective implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes that take the subregional dimension into account; the importance of the reform of security structures; the proliferation of small arms and light weapons; and finally, the issue of human rights.

With regard to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, it is essential that national programmes be strengthened through initiatives at the subregional level. Therefore, we are pleased to observe that progress has been made in implementing the Multicountry Demobilization and Reintegration Programme in the Great Lakes region for the period 2002-2006. At the same time, we believe the report of the Secretary-General contains interesting recommendations concerning the possible

establishment of joint DDR programmes in border zones and with respect to an integrated approach — at the level of the whole United Nations system and in cooperation with other humanitarian and development agencies — aimed at facing the challenges of DDR.

Secondly, with regard to security sector reform and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, we again emphasize the importance of a subregional approach in achieving effective security reform and reducing the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and the movement of armed elements among the countries of the region.

Finally, regarding the human rights situation, the report contains a series of recommendations that merit consideration, including, for example, those concerning the fight against impunity and the link between reform of the judicial system and human rights issues.

**Mr. Thompson** (United Kingdom): Thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open meeting. Our thanks also go to Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh for his presentation of the report of the mission (S/2003/1077).

In my remarks, I will be supplementing and speaking within the framework of the statement to be made shortly by the Italian presidency of the European Union.

A year ago, the Council proposed the inter-agency mission because we recognized the need for a comprehensive and concerted approach to the issues of peace, security and development in Central Africa. The aim was, and remains, to make effective operational linkages across the United Nations system and, where relevant and practical, across borders. We should continue to pursue that. In my remarks, I want to address how we do that rather than the particular problems of the region, which — as previous speakers have said — are large and urgent.

The mission concluded that, as a result of cross-cutting and other challenges that transcend national boundaries in the region, an integrated and holistic subregional approach is required to complement national solutions and lay a durable foundation for solutions. The report offers us a range of cross-regional issues for consideration, many of which are being addressed by different parts of the United Nations system. In our discussion of the Great Lakes region last week, for example, we all recognized that certain problems do not stop at national borders, particularly where those borders are highly porous. Small arms proliferation is one example. On a more positive note, I hope we are starting to see the potential, at least, for a positive cycle in the Great Lakes region in which one country can positively affect development in its neighbours.

But, that said, I think there are some important qualifications to a blanket cross-regional approach. Clearly, some problems are fundamentally the same on either side of a national border and need to be tackled in a coordinated way. But others may be best tackled at the national level, and some issues — such as HIV/AIDS — clearly need to be addressed in a much broader context than just the Central African region. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) provides a framework for shared progress across a wide range of areas — including peace and security, economic governance, and democracy and good governance — that goes beyond the Central African region. So, as a first point, we need to be careful about imposing templates on different kinds of problems.

Moreover, as a second point, we would not wish to cut across or duplicate existing regional and subregional initiatives — for example, the current work on the potential for an international conference on the Great Lakes. So it follows that we would not support the insertion of a new level of bureaucracy into the region. A better way forward might be to concentrate on areas that build on existing subregional and region-wide structures, rather than attempting to create new ones.

The third point, therefore, is that there is a clear role for subregional bodies, and they deserve our support. It is unsurprising that the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC) have established mechanisms and approaches to address issues of collective security. The economic development of the region and security are fundamentally linked. At the same time we note the observation of the multidisciplinary mission that not all of these mechanisms are either fully functional or delivering as intended. We need to be sure that each part of the system is playing to its strengths and not duplicating. The Central African subregional organizations need to define their role according to where they can best add value. We note that the report

identifies some blurring between the roles of ECCAS and CAEMC, for example.

As the Secretary-General moves forward with his proposed review of the United Nations programmes in the region, it would be useful to focus on particular areas where there is the best prospect of identifying scope for improved coordination. We think it would be useful to see some specific recommendations — for example, concerning which of the regional security structures the United Nations should be supporting, and how that support could best be provided. We would welcome a look at what scope there may be to follow through on the Council's earlier intention to support ECCAS's new collective security structures. It would be helpful to have recommendations on whether there is anything more concrete that the United Nations could contribute in other areas — for example, tackling the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Finally, in addressing concrete proposals, we would urge a bottom-up approach, taking account of the views of those already working in the field in partnership with Governments in the region. We think this is key. Any review should be looking at what does or does not work in the field, and at where there may be gaps or opportunities for better linkage in the existing activities of the United Nations system. We hope that such an approach will deliver progress in making the Organization more joined up and helping the countries of the Central African region in their efforts also to be more joined up.

**Mr. Konuzin** (Russian Federation *(spoke in Russian)*: Today's meeting is further confirmation of the serious concern of the world community in quickly finding a solution to the conflicts and the many problems in Africa. It is also evidence of our desire to develop an effective strategy for the maintenance of peace and sustainable development in Africa.

The Russian Federation is pleased to see that recently — thanks primarily to the efforts of the Africans themselves, but also thanks to the international community, the United Nations, the Security Council, the regional and subregional organizations — it has been possible to achieve tangible success in the settlement of conflicts and in stabilizing the situation in the Central African subregion. Peace is steadily being consolidated in Angola, life is returning to normal in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the peace process in Burundi is moving ahead, and in the Central African Republic measures have been taken to restore the constitutional order.

But at the same time there are still serious risks and difficulties in Central Africa. We noted that the dangers listed in the report of the multidisciplinary mission do not differ from the threats that we have been discussing here in the Security Council. In other words, our analyses are virtually the same, and this provides a certain foundation for multilateral and multifaceted interaction in order to neutralize those risks and dangers.

But what worries us is something else. The main causes of the current situation in Central Africa — unsatisfactory Governments, widespread poverty, a particularly high level of unemployment among young people — have also been the main causes of instability for decades. We have to adjust our focus; we have to ask questions not only about the causes of the present situation, but also why African States are facing the same root causes of instability as they faced as they were approaching independence over 40 years ago.

Then there is a second lesson we can learn. We must listen to the Africans more. The report notes that a number of African countries would be willing to participate in consultations on the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They are requesting that they be admitted as full participants in the proposed international conference on the Great Lakes region. It is the Africans themselves that have to define themselves. They are neighbours; they have to live together as good neighbours.

There is a third point. It is extremely important that international assistance through this process of stabilization be coordinated, focused and accountable. A central role must be played by the United Nations, which would have the closest contacts with the regional and subregional organizations. Those organizations must be purely pragmatic in their functioning, for their very existence is justified only when their work is truly useful. If those organizations need help, then they must be helped.

The report refers to the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa. I would like to ask Mr. Kalomoh whether there is any specific output from that Committee. Are the reports of that Committee available?

There is a fourth point. We are worried that some African countries tend to appeal to the international community and the United Nations before fully exhausting their own national or regional possibilities. This applies, as we see it, to perhaps a rather excessive approach for the establishment in Central Africa of a United Nations office, which would be in addition to structures already there. Along the same lines are the requests relating to international commissions for investigating violations of human rights and of international humanitarian law, and structures to combat impunity. Africans could make fuller use of national, bilateral and regional potential. This is mentioned specifically in the report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission.

We agree that the United Nations system could be of assistance in this respect. Such assistance should be provided first to those who have demonstrated their resolve to solve problems and who are willing to use their own resources as well for this purpose.

The Russian delegation supports the measures proposed by the Secretary-General to strengthen the role of the United Nations in Central Africa, in particular with regard to the appointment of a special envoy of the Secretary-General to the subregion and the area of competence of such an envoy. We believe that the work of that special envoy would be fully transparent in the Security Council and that information would be provided on his activities through regular reports of the Secretary-General to us.

**Mr. Negroponte** (United States of America): We join others in thanking Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh for his comprehensive report on the multidisciplinary assessment mission to Central Africa regarding the need for an integrated approach to issues of peace, security and development in the Central Africa region. As you know, we have been a long-time supporter and financial contributor to peace and development projects in Central Africa, both bilaterally and multilaterally. We are greatly pleased that the peace processes in a number of Central African States, particularly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola and Burundi, have made significant progress in recent years. Forward movement in those peace processes should allow for better opportunities to institutionalize stability, along with economic progress, in the Central African region.

We are also pleased that there have been some significant economic changes in certain Central African States. For example, the Chad-Cameroon pipeline and oil exploration and production in Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe should provide further opportunities to Central Africa for economic advancement. However, to take advantage of those opportunities, those countries, as well as the rest of the Central African States, must make a concerted effort to invest in infrastructure and the health, education and well-being of their populations. Governments must ensure the protection of human rights and the transparent and judicious use of national funds for targeted and comprehensive development programmes.

We would recommend that the decision on naming a special envoy be deferred until after the Great Lakes conference has issued its results and recommendations. Many Central African countries will be involved in the Great Lakes conference, and the United Nations-African Union partnership in the conference has already committed to encouraging and coordinating the contributions of various regional and subregional African organizations. Therefore the conference, with the stated goals of promoting sustainable peace, political stability, economic development and regional integration, may incorporate many critical elements laid out in the multidisciplinary assessment mission report, and may in fact recommend ways to enhance Central African integration and strengthen its regional organizations.

We would also be concerned that adding yet another bureaucratic layer to the United Nations structures already in the Central African region might not necessarily ensure better coordination of existing United Nations bodies in the region and could cause confusion as to the responsibilities of existing United Nations representatives. A more effective response might be to ensure that United Nations offices, missions and agencies already in the region be challenged to work more effectively together.

**Mr. Maquieira** (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are very grateful for the report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion, headed by the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Kalomoh, and we are also grateful for his briefing today.

Briefly, it seems to us that, in the light of the report, which we have studied, it would be appropriate to introduce holistic solutions taking account of the regional dimension, especially in areas that are clearly affected by similar cross-border problems. Trafficking in small arms, the proliferation of mercenaries who cross borders to offer their services to the highest bidder, the illegal exploitation of natural resources, systematic violations of human rights, HIV/AIDS and extreme poverty — none of these phenomena can be resolved by countries acting alone, especially without the cooperation of the international community or the United Nations. That is why it seems to us entirely logical to pursue proposals aimed at the more active presence of the United Nations, supporting the implementation of subregional measures aimed at the resolution of general problems, including the promotion of good governance; joint and coordinated disarmament programmes; demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement programmes; and measures to combat the illegal movement of small arms, drugs and militias — ideas that, as we know, are under discussion in the context of other African conflicts.

Of the recommendations made by the mission, we would like to emphasize those that relate to the need to establish a mechanism to alleviate the suffering of the victims of human rights violations, including through reparation and compensation, as part of efforts aimed at post-conflict reconciliation — an area to which Chile attaches fundamental importance. Given our recent history, we know how important it is to have a process of democratic recovery, stability and peace, to prevent impunity and to address the suffering of the victims of human rights violations.

We believe that the recommendations relating to governability contained in the report of the multidisciplinary mission are important. Thus the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council must coordinate their action in order to ensure a coherent approach to the integrated and multidimensional aspects of the problems of the region. Progress has been made in that area, but we have not yet come up with an operational formula facilitating the joint work of the two organs.

At the same time, it seems to us reasonable to heed the concern of the Secretary-General regarding the proliferation of United Nations offices in the region — a theme taken up by a number of speakers in the recent debate dealing with the conference on the Great Lakes region. We must set clear and achievable goals, draw up a specific timetable and avoid any duplication of functions.

**Mr. Pujalte** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): First of all, I am grateful for the inclusion in our programme of work of a meeting on the Central African region. We recognize the work and leadership of the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Kalomoh, who led the assessment mission to the region and produced the report before us today.

As the report makes clear, the problems faced by the region will be difficult to resolve. Indeed, these are persistent problems not only in Africa, but in several parts of the world. The first of these — and the most complex, given its repercussions in all areas — is that of extreme poverty. The second is the proliferation of and illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, explosives and munitions. That is an issue of great sensitivity, given its impact on human rights, especially among populations that need special protection, such as women and children. The third problem, which is related to conflict, is the massive flows of refugees.

Countries like Angola — your country, Mr. President — Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda are already making efforts to consolidate their internal stability. To that end, they need to improve economic conditions and create institutions that reinforce their Governments.

In our view, the recommendations contained in the report with a view to designing and implementing a comprehensive approach to conflict in Central Africa — including aspects relating to ethnic disputes; flows of internally displaced persons and refugees; the illegal exploitation of natural resources; illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons; and the use of children as combatants — must be taken into account by the Council as it seeks solutions that have not only a regional, but, as the report stresses, a comprehensive dimension.

The national capacities of the countries of the region must be strengthened with a view to promoting good governance, including the consolidation of justice systems and the formulation of human rights policies. The support that can be provided by the United Nations requires the participation of, and cooperation by, African Governments, regional organizations and the

international community as a whole. In this way it will be possible to continue to set priorities and determine the actions that need to be taken in the region in order later to create, optimize and coordinate effective strategies and programmes that will help countries to overcome the challenges faced by the region and contribute to its development.

The Security Council has already begun to incorporate actions to strengthen the institutional capacity of States within the mandates of peacekeeping operations. That trend should be continued and consolidated. Direct cooperation with other regional organizations and competent bodies is also necessary.

In Central Africa, a region where more than half of the population lives below the poverty line and which has nearly 3 million displaced persons, urgent measures are required to prevent the existing humanitarian crisis in the region from continuing to deteriorate. It is necessary also to capitalize on the benefits that can be provided by the region's wealth of resources.

The international community has a commitment to help the countries of the region, whose economic, political and social development depends not only on the will of Governments involved but also the coordinated efforts of international, regional and subregional organizations.

It is only through the joint and coordinated efforts of a strategic partnership for development imbued with a high degree of political will that it will be possible successfully to resolve the problems which thus far have caused so much harm to many African countries. The Security Council must continue closely to follow up activities to promote peace-building and to provide its support to such efforts.

**The President:** I will now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Angola.

I wish to thank the Secretariat for its very comprehensive report following the assessment mission to the region, which gives us a clear picture of the problems and an indication of possible solutions to them.

I should like in particular to commend Mr. Kalomoh and the members of the mission for their efforts and for the quality of the data they have produced on the region.

I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate Cameroon and Ambassador Belinga-Eboutou, under whose presidency the Security Council adopted the presidential statement on 31 October 2002 calling for a mission to that region.

I would like to thank in advance the Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Congo for the statement he will deliver on behalf of all members of the Economic Community of Central African States. My delegation fully subscribes to and supports that statement.

Moreover, my delegation would like to comment on the third paragraph of the summary of the report, which states:

> "The mission concluded the visit to the subregion with a strong sense of a striking paradox, namely, that Central Africa is potentially one of the richest subregions in Africa but also contains the largest number of States that fall among the lowest in almost all human development indices." *(S/2003/1077, p.3)*

The report refers also to a complex of problems affecting the region, such as the proliferation of small arms, the lack of infrastructure, and others. It is true that, to overcome that paradox, a comprehensive, integrated and resolute approach to the complex of problems of the region is needed, as rightly indicated in the conclusion of the Secretariat's report. Meanwhile, this can be achieved if the problems are addressed in a solidly grounded and integrated framework. The dispersion that currently characterizes the institutions which serve the Central African region must be addressed so as to make them more effective and results-oriented.

Central Africa, potentially one of the richest regions of the continent, has the means to overcome its problems if the new trend towards peace and security in the region is sustained and an integrated and holistic approach is followed in addressing the problems currently plaguing the region. A more concerted effort by the Central African countries is needed in which ownership by States will have to be complemented by better-coordinated support by the international community.

It is my delegation's hope that today's meeting of the Security Council can be viewed as a contribution by Angola towards this common endeavour of

promoting peace, security and development in Central Africa as well as throughout the world.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

In order to optimize the use of our time, I will not individually invite speakers to take seats at the Council table. When a speaker is taking the floor, the Conference Officer will seat the next speaker on the list at the table.

I give the floor to the representative of Italy.

**Mr. Mantovani** (Italy): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The acceding countries Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia; the associated countries Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey; and the European Free Trade Association countries Iceland and Norway members of the European Economic Area align themselves with this statement.

Allow me once again to congratulate you, Sir, for the strong leadership Angola has shown during its November 2003 presidency of the Security Council, especially on African issues. I also wish to thank Assistant Secretary-General Kalomoh for the comprehensive and well-structured report of the multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion which he headed in June 2003.

As appropriately noted in the report, Central Africa is potentially one of the richest subregions in Africa, but it also contains the largest number of States at the bottom of almost any human development index. Moreover, seven of the 11 countries visited by the United Nations mission are either in conflict or post-conflict situations, and the subregion as a whole continues to suffer from the proliferation of small arms and armed groups; high unemployment among young people, which pushes them into banditry or armed mercenary activities; underdeveloped infrastructures; great numbers of displaced persons and refugees; poor human rights records; and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

As stressed during last week's public debate on the Great Lakes region, the European Union strongly shares the view that the fundamental problems affecting the Central African subregion can be tackled only through an integrated regional approach to the main cross-cutting issues. Such an approach requires more effective subregional cooperation and integration to be promoted by strengthening the mechanisms set up by the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa, the early warning mechanism for Central Africa and the Central African multinational force. We are fully aware of the importance of African ownership in that process. The coordination and consistency of ECCAS with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and African Union policies and mechanisms, as well as with other relevant subregional organizations in the area, is also of the utmost importance.

In addition to ensuring regional ownership within the processes of stabilization and economic growth in Central Africa, we must continue to mobilize international support. While the Governments of the region bear the primary responsibility for consolidating peace and ensuring development, the international community has a duty to assist them at all levels. The European Union stands ready to perform this task.

The European Union notes with satisfaction the recent positive developments in the main crisis areas of the subregion, namely the Great Lakes countries, as stressed a few days ago during the public debate. Moreover, the quick restoration of constitutional rule in Sao Tome and Principe after the attempted coup d'état in July 2003, and the partial improvement of the situation in the Central African Republic, attest to the fundamental role of regional organizations and the growing determination of African leaders to promote democratic governance and the rule of law.

The European Union is fuliy committed to continue boosting the peace and stabilization process in Central Africa. As you know, operation Artemis succeeded in stabilizing security conditions, improving the humanitarian situation and protecting the civilian population of Bunia in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The rapid deployment of the European multinational force, the first ever outside European boundaries, we must recall, halted the dangerous downward spiral of security conditions and helped reactivate the peace process in that country. This European Union-led military operation provides further tangible evidence of the European Union's commitment to stability and security in the Central African subregion and on the African continent as a whole.

On the other hand, the report stresses that in the Great Lakes region alone, there are more than 1 million illegal small arms in circulation and that disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of former combatants are proceeding at a very slow pace. We believe that without a comprehension regional solution to those problems, any peace and stabilization effort will inevitably fail in the long term. In this regard, the European Union welcomes all national, subregional and international initiatives to strengthen the capacities of the Central African countries, particularly the initiative to convene the international conference for the Great Lakes region.

As a result of the intimate link between poverty and conflict, the international community must help the Central African countries enter the path of durable and sustainable development, thereby eradicating the economic sources of political instability, civil unrest and conflict. Unemployment, heavy external debt and poor infrastructure in the Central African countries can be tackled through good governance and international assistance.

The European Union stands ready to cooperate with the United Nations, the African Union and ECCAS on peace and stabilization processes and the economic development of the Central African subregion. We entirely agree with the report that a global and integrated approach is needed and reiterate our strong support to the Secretary-General for his commitment.

**The President**: I thank the representative of Italy. I now give the floor to the representative of the Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Ikouebe** (Congo) *(spoke in French)*: I have the honour to take the floor before the Council on behalf of the following 11 member States of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), namely Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Chad. Earlier, the representative of Cameroon announced that he joined in the statement I am now making. In turn, I wish to say it is rather I who am pleased to join in the brilliant statement that he made, not only on behalf of Cameroon, but on behalf of our subregion.

First I would like to say how proud we are to see you, Sir, presiding over the Council during this month of November, during which important debates will be devoted to the Central African subregion. Last Thursday, 20 November, there was a public meeting devoted to preparations for the international conference on the Great Lakes. Today we have this well-attended debate on the review of the interim report of the United Nations multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion in June 2003.

We are grateful to the Council for the interest it has taken in our region. You will recall that following the debate in the Council of 22 October 2002, on cooperation between Central Africa and the United Nations, the decision was taken to send to the subregion an assessment mission. The aim was, and is, the adoption of a global, integrated, resolute, concerted approach to the problems of peace, security and development in Central Africa, as correctly recalled by the Secretary-General in his letter to the Security Council of 10 November 2003. We wish to thank the Secretary-General for having sent this mission and for presenting to us today the report that our Governments have been looking forward to with great interest.

We also wish to commend the members of the mission, especially Mr. Kalomoh, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, for the high calibre of work done, which broadly takes into account the concerns expressed by our Governments. We wish to assure him of our determination to continue working with his team in a dialogue aimed at establishing a true and strengthened partnership between our subregion and the United Nations system.

The level of talks held between members of the United Nations delegation and people in each of our countries that were visited, and the high calibre of those exchanges, clearly express the interest taken by leaders of our subregion in strengthening cooperation with the United Nations, especially at a time when solid prospects are emerging from the crisis in most of the countries that have been beset by armed conflicts.

The message we wish to send is one of a Central Africa that wants to emerge from the infernal circle of violence and poverty to firmly commit itself along the path of dispute settlement, consolidated peace-building and reconstruction. But our countries are also aware that despite the determination of their leaders, positive developments now under way will remain fragile if they do not have substantial support from the

international community, particularly from the United Nations.

The Secretary-General recently had occasion to commend the satisfactory progress of the situation in the subregion. We would confirm that trend by pointing to the following developments which occurred since the mission's visit, and which reveal a true determination to move ahead with the settlement of conflicts and the strengthening of subregional integration. I refer, in particular, to the peaceful settlement of the political crisis in Sao Tome and Principe; the organization of the national dialogue in the Central African Republic; the establishment of transitional institutions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the adoption in New York on 25 September 2003, of the declaration of Principles on Good-Neighbourly Relations and Cooperation, between the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda; the recent agreement arrived at in Burundi between the Government and the Forces for the Defense of Democracy, which led, yesterday, to the formation of a new inclusive Government; the entry into force of the protocol pertaining to the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa; the organization in Libreville in July of a peacekeeping operations exercise, and the meeting in Brazzaville in October 2003 of the military chiefs of the subregion with a view to creating a subregional peacekeeping brigade. Those examples clearly indicate that the subregion does not consider war and destablization to be its inexorable fate, but is, on the contrary, more than ever determined to face up to its responsibilities. Still, the challenges remain enormous — as the report clearly underscores — particularly in regard to the maintenance and strengthening of peace. Efforts must be made to strengthen subregional capacities, support subregional initiatives, implement disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, promote national reconciliation, protect human rights, reintegrate refugees and displaced persons and control the illegal movement of small arms within the region. For all of those problems the nagging issue remains one of financing, which I shall revert to later.

Another aspect of that challenge concerns reconstruction and sustainable development, where focus should be placed on the introduction of post-conflict programmes that allow for the transition from policies geared towards emergency humanitarian aid to ones centred on structural development, good governance, poverty reduction, combating HIV/AIDS and malaria, rehabilitation of ecosystems devastated by war, strengthening of mechanisms of community integration and so forth. Here, again, there is a need to stress the mobilization of external resources.

With regard to those challenges, and the many others we face, we feel that it is absolutely imperative to have a subregional, coordinated approach. We must find a way to coordinate our activities and our efforts, to mobilize all of the key actors involved in the process — Governments, parliaments, non-governmental organizations, civil society, subregional integration organizations, business sectors and so forth — around a coherent vision so that we may address our external partners as a united entity. In that connection, we have to be able to deal with United Nations interlocutors who are willing to see our problems from a perspective that takes into account that common identity that we wish to forge.

Particular interest needs to be shown for programmes that have a multinational dimension, like that led by the World Bank for the financing of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities in some of our countries.

The new partnership with the United Nations that we aspire to is a function of that concern, and it is to further that objective that we make the following comments, which are far from being exhaustive given the breadth and complexity of the problems under discussion.

In the first place, we reaffirm our determination to strengthen subregional integration by revitalizing the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which is slated to play the primary role in coordinating all the activities that at present it shares with other institutions such as the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC). In any case, such a situation — which is not specific to Central Africa — is destined to evolve as the subregion achieves an advanced degree of integration, and eventually do away with all structures that have lost their raison d'être. Today, the coexistence of those institutions is not an obstacle. To the contrary, it can help to speed up the integration process for ECCAS, which can benefit from the experience of institutions with proven track records.

Now, as you can see I am entering the debate over competing institutions in Central Africa. But, more

than that, we are dealing with historic processes. The Economic Community of Central African States, which comprises 11 member countries, is only 20 years old, while the Central African Economic Monetary Community has a 40-year history. That institution corresponds to a historic solidarity that is destined to change.

Let me give some specific examples so that we can assess to what degree those institutions have intervened. We have the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, which is essentially a customs union that has not yet been incorporated within the Economic Community of Central African States. We have a regional integration body with community programmes that do not yet exist within ECCAS. We have a common currency, which is already a great step forward — we take Europe as our model and, as we all know, it took many years to launch the euro. We have, therefore, a group of six countries with a common currency, an achievement from which ECCAS can take inspiration. We have, in regard to the free movement of people and goods, a plan for a common passport that will soon be circulated. Those many steps forward can serve as an inspiration to ECCAS as it pursues its own evolution.

Further to those reflections, I should like to note that at one point the persistence of conflicts — which caused many countries to give their full attention to the day-to-day management of those crises — may have left the impression that the communal spirit was breathing its last. We are sure that, today, with those conflicts now at an end, the subregional integration plan will find its second wind.

A second aspect is the question as to whether the structure we have before us will enable us to have a partner with a political presence in our region. I followed the debate on the question with great interest. Let me recall the following. The Special Representatives of the Secretary-General and the United Nations offices and agencies in our countries play an essential role. But, in keeping with the vision of a global, integrated and determined approach to the problems of the subregion — as defined by the Security Council — a coordination mechanism or guidelines for coordination, harmonization and consistency is a necessity. That is why it is important to recall that, in light of that concern, when the assessment mission visited Central Africa, a request was made by our heads of State for the creation of a subregional United Nations office in Central Africa that would constitute a kind of political presence, not just one more office. The representative of Cameroon quite rightly alluded to that request.

The request, first addressed to the assessment mission, was recently repeated in Malabo last month, when the ministers of the 11 member countries of ECCAS met for the twentieth Ministerial Meeting of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa.

That, then, is where the debate stands with us at this stage. It is a debate on the question of what constitutes a coherent, integrated approach. We do not want to simply add a new form of bureaucracy; we are seeking a solution that takes into account our shared vision of our problems.

As a third issue, we note with great interest the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his letter of transmission. At the same time we wonder about the purpose of yet another study on the causes of conflict in Africa. Here, again, the representative of Cameroon has been very eloquent. We have enough studies on the issue and we therefore wonder why an additional study is necessary. In any event, we welcome the positive will to strengthen the effectiveness and coherence of United Nations programmes in Central Africa. We are ready, therefore, to continue working with the Secretary-General to examine ways to strengthen the essential partnership between the United Nations and our subregion.

Central Africa agrees with the Secretary-General that we must move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention with regard to peace and security. Central Africa also considers that it is important to develop a logic for follow-up to peace-building and stabilization processes.

In that regard, I would like to emphasize two points by giving two examples. Concerning financing problems and mobilization of external resources, many statements and declarations have been made and many conferences have been held, but in reality we can say that there is many a slip from the cup to the lip. First of all, there are inter-agency consolidated appeals for some of countries of the region, such as Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We have noted pledges of aid and financial support, but when it comes to taking action we note that things often move very

slowly to the detriment of the goals to be achieved. Secondly, we also have other selected peacekeeping operations as we have seen over the course of the year in the Central African Republic. The Central African Economic and Monetary Community organized a mission, which was led by the Gabonese head of State. A contingent involving forces from a number of countries was dispatched, but it was faced with the eternal problem of logistics. Naturally, our heads of State turned to the United Nations, and you received them here, some months ago, a delegation sent by the head of State of Gabon, including the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Defence, pleading their cause, saying that we have a contingent but need the United Nations to take the contingent under its responsibility because we do not have the resources.

The answer was that, given the nature of the intervention and in the absence of a Security Council resolution, it was not possible for the United Nations to fulfil that request. You will, of course, understand that our leaders then wonder, when they are told that the maintenance of international peace and security is the responsibility of the Security Council and the United Nations. They are told to organize in the proper manner and report to the United Nations and await an appropriate response. Then, when the response is not along the lines that they would wish, they may well question the true determination of the international community to assist them in their efforts.

This is just to show that in our countries, we do not always stand idly by when a crisis arises. I would indeed say that, with regard to the Central African Republic and other countries, we do not necessarily merely send out a contingent. When we see the causes of destabilization of a country, such as accumulation of salary arrears, our heads of State organize. They collect money to liquidate part of the debts owed to civil servants in order to calm social unrest.

A real will to intervene exists, but it is constrained by the lack of resources. Now what can we say today? We have taken due note of the report and its recommendations, and we say that the time has come, of course, to take action, correctly and without delay, to address all of the problems raised by the assessment mission. We shall do so ourselves in the spirit of the approach formulated by the Council. We shall do so with determination in order to make irreversible the positive steps that we can all observe and to avoid any backsliding or any renewed challenges.

Central Africa is aware that it can achieve its goals only by strengthening its capacities. We promise to do so, especially through a firmer approach to revitalization of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in the areas of peace, security, economic development and human development. In order to preserve that determination and unity and in order to remain consistent to that global, resolute and integrated approach, our subregion has always wished all its members to be involved in the international conference on peace and security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region, and, we would add, in Central Africa.

In that regard, the member States of ECCAS welcome the statement of the President of the Security Council of 20 November 2003, and welcome the inclusive approach adopted by the Council that is an eloquent illustration of the way in which we wish henceforth to address the problems of our subregion.

**Mr. Atoki** (Democratic Republic of Congo) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, as your term as President of the Security Council draws to an end, may I congratulate you on the very able, skilful and competent way in which you have chaired the Council. I would also like to thank you for having included Central Africa, our subregion, as one of the main concerns during your term, stressing thereby the strong interest of the Security Council in a geographical area that is potentially one of the richest in the world, but which for over a decade has been devastated by instability and breaches of international peace and security. So I would thank you for organizing this open meeting of the Council to consider the interim report of the interdisciplinary assessment mission to the subregion of Central Africa.

But first of all, I would like to extend my deepest condolences to my colleague and brother from the Central African Republic over the death President David Dacko, who died unexpectedly last week at Yaoundé in Cameroon. The most recent image that we have of President Dacko is the embrace of President Dacko and the current Prime Minister Abel Goumba. That was one of the high points of the Central African National Conference, which symbolized, par excellence, the strong desire for peace and reconciliation of our peoples, both east and west, in the subregion. We are very grateful to President Bozize for having decreed a period of national mourning, and we

thank the Government of Cameroon for authorizing the repatriation of the mortal remains of the late President.

I would like to pay tribute to the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Kalomoh, and all of his team, whom I met personally, and I would thank them for their excellent work and report. I would also thank him for introducing the report this morning.

I would also like to associate myself fully with the statement made by my colleague, the representative of the Republic of the Congo on behalf of the eleven members of the Economic Community of Central African States. With his customary eloquence and clarity, he faithfully stated the position of our community. This makes my task much easier, and I shall confine myself to a few points of great concern to my own country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

With regard to peace and security, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with the assistance of the Council, the United Nations as a whole and the international community, is firmly and irrevocably committed to a peaceful and non-conflictual transition, with the main objective now being the organization of free, transparent and democratic elections.

With your assistance, it will be possible to realize the reunification and pacification of our country, to preserve our territorial integrity, and to restore State authority throughout the national territory, which must be supported by the rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructures, resumption of free movement for people and goods, and the reopening of the main arteries of communication.

It is of the greatest importance to continue and speed up the process of reforming a restructured, integrated national army in stages, with a precise timetable. The new army should deploy as soon as possible, and my Government greatly appreciates the bilateral and international assistance already provided. The disarmament, demobilization, repatriation and reintegration program (DDRR), with assistance from the international community, must also be speeded up.

Since 17 November, without international support, the Congolese armed forces have proceeded with voluntary demobilization and disarmament of over a thousand ex-combatants, primarily of Rwandan nationality. At the close of this operation currently taking place at Kitona base, the ex-combatants will be repatriated to their countries of origin. My Government is calling upon the Governments of origin of those ex-combatants to make arrangements as soon as possible to facilitate the repatriation, reintegration and reinsertion of the ex-combatants at home.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo will spare no effort to make sure that all foreign troops leave the national territory. The Government will constantly be reminding the international community of its responsibilities on DDRR, particularly in the context of the Multicountry Demobilization and Re-insertion Programme for the Great Lakes region being coordinated by the World Bank.

Another concern is the circulation of weapons. The Democratic Republic of the Congo hopes that the Security Council will decide as soon as possible to establish an embargo mechanism pursuant to the relevant provisions of resolution 1493 (2003).

In addition, in his report, the Assistant Secretary-General notes that several of his interlocutors believed that the re-establishment of lasting stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was a sine qua non condition of lasting stability throughout the subregion. To that end, they had requested that they be allowed to participate fully in the international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region and Central Africa.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo fully agrees with that view. We consider the holding of the forthcoming forum to be a historic opportunity to get subregional integration started again. It is a factor for the peace and socio-economic development of our people.

Like the French delegation, we believe that being fully open to our Western neighbours — and, indeed, to all of our neighbours — is a precondition for success at the conference. We also fully agree with the proposal made by the delegation of the Russian Federation on Thursday concerning participation by the national and international private sectors in the preparation of concrete development projects and in the consideration of legal means to exploit the natural resources of our subregion.

Turning now to poverty and humanitarian issues, I would note that, as the Assistant Secretary-General so rightly stressed, if trust is not restored among the

leaders of the subregion, then the economic integration so essential to lasting growth will not be able to play its crucial part in eliminating poverty. The United Nations has a major role to play in restoring such relations of trust, since the gaping wounds left by many years of instability are far from healed.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the humanitarian situation in areas affected by armed aggression is purely and simply shocking, devastating and catastrophic. The lack of access to populations in need and insecurity caused by the aggressors and their associates, the outlaw warlords, remain major obstacles to large-scale humanitarian assistance. The situation is worsening in the eastern part of the country, especially in Ituri and North and South Kivu. It is imperative that bold measures be taken to ensure unhindered access to those areas and to facilitate the distribution of humanitarian assistance where needed.

What the Democratic Republic of the Congo truly needs, however, as I said during the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal launched by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, is a United Nations humanitarian Marshall Plan to offset the terrible impact of the devastating armed aggression that disrupted the stability and socio-economic development of the country and unleashed violence, the destruction of infrastructure, disease — including HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis — and malnutrition. There have also been serious and indelible repercussions for women, children, the elderly and other vulnerable people.

At the economic level, the common vision of our economic and social transition programme is based on a market economy and the recognition of private investment, social rights, national solidarity and juridical and legal security for business. Our paramount objective remains stabilization and economic recovery, stressing in particular ongoing economic rehabilitation and reconstruction and the fight against poverty, with the support of the international financial institutions and the donor community.

As for justice and human rights issues, what is important now is to end impunity. The elimination of impunity requires addressing the root causes of belligerence in the subregion and providing justice for the thousands of Rwandans of all different ethnic groups who have suffered genocide and for the millions of Congolese victims of armed aggression. The elimination of impunity requires the establishment, with the assistance of the Security Council, of an international criminal court for the Democratic Republic of the Congo or an ad hoc tribunal on the model of that for Sierra Leone. Either court must have the competence necessary to adjudicate crimes of genocide; crimes against humanity, including the use of rape as a weapon of war; and mass violations of human rights, regardless of whether the perpetrators are Congolese or foreigners. It must also cooperate closely with institutions that support democracy, such as the National Observatory for Human Rights, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission.

The elimination of impunity also requires appealing to international agencies for compensation for the victims of aggression, as recognized by the international community — particularly this Council and the African Union. It also requires pursuing and completing the process of judiciary reform — including military justice — in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In conclusion, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is highly aware, as it emerges from a long war with many international ramifications, of the importance of regional and subregional cooperation. We are convinced of the need to pool our resources so as to contribute to economic integration and we intend to pursue a policy of dialogue, openness, friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourliness. Our most valuable resource is our human resource – our competent young people, who are perfectly capable of assuming the reins of the nation. This asset is a good outlet for the domestic and external markets and a major factor for economic dynamism.

At the geographical level, everyone knows that our country has agricultural, mineral and water resources that are potentially very conducive to the comprehensive development of the entire subregion. This potential must be used better to ensure a better future for our people. My country, in response to the explicit request of our heads of State, has therefore told the Secretary-General that we are very willing to host in Kinshasa the United Nations office for Central Africa, in the belief that the United Nations must now take a forward-looking approach to the problems of Central Africa and address them in a comprehensive and integrated manner. This offer is, of course, subject to any decision that the Secretary-General may take in

that respect and to prior discussion among the countries of Central Africa.

**The President**: I thank the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for his kind words addressed to me.

I now give the floor to the representative of Rwanda.

**Mr. Shalita** (Rwanda): This being the first time my delegation has taken the floor in the Security Council this month, I would like to begin by warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and to congratulate you on the very able manner in which you have chaired its work. I would also like to express our thanks for your convening this meeting and that earlier this month on the Great Lakes region.

We would also like to thank the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Kalomoh, for presenting the interim report of the multi-disciplinary assessment mission to Central Africa and to congratulate him on the success of the mission. We find the report to be wide-ranging and comprehensive, focusing as it does on issues of peace and security, economic development, humanitarian affairs, human rights and HIV/AIDS.

It is indeed a great tragedy that, while Central Africa has the human and natural resource potential to make it among the richest subregions of the world, it is among the world's poorest subregions, blighted by extreme poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. Both cause and effect of this are political instability, internal strife and nations with very weak State structures. Rwanda fully supports the mission's view that, as a result of the cross-cutting challenges that transcend national boundaries, an integrated and holistic subregional approach is required to complement national solutions to the numerous challenges that affect Central Africa.

There have been important positive developments in the region over the last few months. My country, Rwanda, is a very good example. We held free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections in August and September, ending the nine-year transition process, and consolidated the national democratization programme that began in 1998 with elections at the grass-roots level of administration. Today, all levels of administration have been democratized and elected local Governments have been empowered by a decentralization programme that aims at giving them a leading role in the decision-making process. Sections of our population that for generations had been marginalized, such as women, are now playing an active role in the political process. In that connection, it gives me great pleasure to note that Rwanda now has the highest percentage of elected women representatives in national parliament, comprising 48.8 per cent of the National Assembly and 30 per cent of the Senate.

The elections in Rwanda came after a constitution-making process, which for the first time in our history involved the entire population in the drafting process. A dynamic and progressive national unity and reconciliation programme has been ongoing for six years now and has made significant progress in helping heal the wounds of the past while reminding us of what we must do to ensure that those mistakes are not repeated.

We also welcome the positive developments taking place in Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Sao Tome and Principe and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the formation of a new transitional Government of national unity has given that country its first realistic prospects for peace and stability in many years. Those developments give us optimism for the entire Central African region.

Rwanda shares the mission's observation about the link between poverty and conflict. We therefore also agree on the need to develop holistic and integrated strategies to address the problems of the region.

We welcome and strongly support the ongoing preparations for the conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region. We recognize that the approach of the conference must, in a holistic manner, address the present challenges to peace and security in the region on the one hand, and on the other reflect on the measures that need to be taken at the national, regional and global levels to transform our economies and give the people of Central Africa hope for a better life. That holistic approach should consider that one of the major challenges to peace and security at present is the existence of large numbers of armed and dangerous militia in some parts of the subregion. We must focus our attention on how the threats posed by those negative forces can be effectively neutralized.

With regard to economic transformation, a holistic approach must look at issues such as the marginalization of Africa in general, and Central Africa in particular, in the global trading system and look at what international support can be mobilized for education and training to enable those countries to transform their economies by adding value to, and increasing the volume of, their exports.

Finally, HIV/AIDS presents a serious challenge to security and development in the subregion. Given the high level of the cross-border movement of people, we must develop joint strategies to address that growing challenge. Subregional organizations should provide a coordination and reporting function and also act as a focal-point for international support for initiatives to fight the epidemic.

**The President**: I now give the floor to the representative of Chad.

**Mr. Laoteggueinodji** (Chad) (*spoke in French*): Mr. Nagoum Yamassoum, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs and African Integration of Chad, had wished to participate personally in this public meeting on Central Africa, but because of time and scheduling restraints, he was unfortunately not able to come to New York today. He has therefore requested me to present his sincere apologies to the Council. He also asked me to convey his warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for November 2003. My delegation joins in the Minister's message and asks you to convey our sincere congratulations to the delegation of the United States of America for the excellence and quality of its work in presiding over the Council during the past month.

My delegation associates itself with the statement made by the member States of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) made by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Congo, the current Chair of ECCAS.

We would also like to add that almost one year ago, Chad, after being accused on several occasions, appeared before the Security Council on 9 December 2002, as the victim of a complaint lodged against it by the former regime of the Central African Republic. On that occasion, my delegation detailed the timeline of the crisis in the Central African Republic to demonstrate that it was a question of an internal crisis. The events that subsequently took place on 15 March 2003 at Bangui confirmed that.

Today, my delegation takes the floor calmly and with hope to welcome the environment of peace and harmony that once again prevails between our two brotherly countries united by geography and history. Under the auspices of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, Chad is proud to make its contribution to strengthening security and social peace in the Central African Republic.

However, we must learn lessons from the painful events suffered by our States if we want to build a happy future for our peoples. The tragic events that have occurred all over Africa are in part a result of the lack of social dialogue at the national level.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the new Central African Republic authorities have quickly understood that and have rapidly committed themselves to the route of national dialogue. The results of their national forum are encouraging for the future of the country.

We observe that wherever national dialogue prevails over the logic of war, there is a real chance to achieve peace — the peace of the hearts and minds of the citizens who desire to live together in national harmony. That is why when national dialogue is weak, we must help to maintain and strengthen it. At stake are the lives of thousands of citizens of Central Africa who die and of those who fall deeper into poverty each day.

The dispatch by the Secretary-General of a multidisciplinary assessment mission to the Central African subregion last June is an initiative that contributes to strengthening national dialogue in member States. My delegation welcomes and supports the interim report of the mission, which contains a comprehensive and pertinent analysis of the situation. My delegation also supports the Secretary-General's proposal to appoint a special envoy to work with our Governments on political questions.

However, my delegation hopes that the appointment of a special envoy is only one step among others. The mission's results could lead to the establishment of a comprehensive, integrated and lasting strategy in which the subregional organizations and the United Nations agencies and programmes operating in Central Africa would work in coordination

on all the political, economic and humanitarian issues of all the States of the subregion. That would be in keeping with the Council's presidential statement, contained in document S/PRST/2002/31 of 31 October 2002.

**The President**: I give the floor to the representative of Equatorial Guinea.

**Mr. Ekua Avomo** (Equatorial Guinea) (spoke in Spanish): As I am taking the floor for the first time in this prestigious organ of the United Nations, I wish first to thank Ambassador Gaspar Martins - - a worthy son and Permanent Representative of the brotherly country of Angola, with which my country maintains and continues to develop excellent relations of friendship and cooperation — for presiding over this meeting dedicated to the Central African subregion, at a time of concern and uncertainty due to the multiple and difficult events that today afflict the international community.

Nevertheless, your perspicacity and your many personal attributes can only inspire optimism on our part that positive results will be achieved in the course of your presidency of the Security Council, particularly on the items being considered at this meeting. I wish to extend our congratulations to all the other members of the Security Council, to whom I pay tribute, and to the Secretary-General and the entire United Nations system for their great work and efforts in support of security, peace and stability in the world.

Furthermore, I fully subscribe to the statement made by the representative of the Republic of the Congo, who spoke on behalf of the member States of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

The statement issued a year ago on 31 October 2002 by the presidency of the Security Council, which, at the time, was occupied by another son of Africa, the representative of Cameroon, was an initiative that Equatorial Guinea and the countries of Central Africa welcomed. It was aimed at examining and addressing in a comprehensive, resolute and integrated way the problems of peace and security and related problems of development in Central Africa. A year after that event, we can only feel reassured at the holding of this meeting devoted to an analysis of the report of the multi-disciplinary assessment mission, which the Secretary-General had decided at that time to send to the area. I wish to express thanks to Mr. Kalomoh and all the members of the assessment mission for the high calibre of their report. I therefore endorse the comments that were made by the representative of Cameroon with regard to this report. We would request that those suggestions and comments be duly considered.

Indeed, that report, which substantially identifies and brings together the problems of the subregion regarding peace and security as well as strategies for economic integration, humanitarian issues, and combating HIV/AIDS, constitutes a diagnosis of the causes of the spiral of violence that has beset virtually every country of the subregion during the last decade. Endowed with immense and important natural resources and with considerable potential in human resources, Central Africa, despite the efforts made by its leaders, paradoxically still remains far from attaining its aspirations of peace and security. This is due to the many internal wars, unjustified wars, which are often not in the interests of the populations of their countries and thus hamper the economic integration of the subregion.

Accordingly, let me stress that, for the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, whose Government devotes all efforts to the maintenance of peace and security in the subregion, this meeting reaffirms and concretely and clearly reasserts the great responsibility and preponderant role that the United Nations Charter identifies and confers upon the Security Council. This role is assigned to it in view of the fact that it is the organ entrusted with protecting and guaranteeing international peace and security, wherever they may be threatened. We wish to centre and maintain this engagement and focus given the alarming situation that prevails in Central Africa. This is an area besieged by a proliferation of persistent crises, conflicts and focal points of presumed or declared tension that undoubtedly collectively represent a real threat to peace and constitute a serious obstacle to the colossal and unceasing efforts of the States of the subregion to face various challenges. These challenges must be faced in order to achieve the goals of political, economic and social development of the peoples of these countries.

Therefore, as the country currently presiding over the Advisory Committee, we would express our appreciation for the excellent work carried out in the last 11 years by the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, in

keeping with the resolutions of the General Assembly. Let me indicate in this connection that various organs established, such as the early warning mechanism for Central Africa and the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX), will soon be operational, once member States have completed the necessary procedures. Both by conviction and vocation, Equatorial Guinea has fully associated itself with this effort, in order to make its modest contribution in the search for and consolidation of peace and stability in Central Africa.

After a long bleak period characterized by wars and political instability, we can fortunately now glimpse a ray of light and a sense of hope among the countries that have been victims of this violence, as can be seen in recent events in Angola, Burundi, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic. This hope is due to the effort and awareness of these countries, supported by the United Nations system in general and other initiatives of different countries, to whom we express our sincere appreciation and gratitude. However, it is premature to have any illusions, given the continuing fragility of the situation, which calls for the adoption of various actions and mechanisms of support in order to ensure the stabilization of the constitutional order as these countries democratize.

Conscious of and without prejudice towards the presence and role of the United Nations in each of the countries fallen victim to the wave of violence, we reiterate that the need for creating a permanent United Nations political office with subregional scope is more than desirable and justified. Its presence would make it possible to experience the reality of the situation on site and to adopt timely preventive policies and measures. In addition to this, it would play the role of coordinating the efforts and initiatives of the countries of the subregion and the United Nations institutions already present in the area. The establishment of such a subregional United Nations structure is one of the recommendations of the twentieth ministerial meeting of the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, from 27 to 31 October 2003.

**The President:** I thank the representative of Equatorial Guinea for his kind words addressed to me.

I now give the floor to the Permanent Observer of the African Union.

**Mr. Kébé** (African Union) (*spoke in French*): I should like at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having invited the African Union to take part in this debate on the Central African region and to congratulate Angola on having included many African issues on the Council's agenda for the month of November. I also thank Mr. Kalomoh and his multidisciplinary team for their clear, precise and comprehensive report (S/2003/1077), which goes straight to the heart of the problems being endured by Central Africa.

The African Union recognizes that there is a cause-and-effect relationship among bad governance, ethnic and social exclusion and impunity, on the one hand, and tensions, conflicts and insecurity, on the other. We emphasize the need to tackle the underlying causes of the region's conflicts and economic problems. The diagnosis as well as the remedy recommended in the report (S/2003/1077) could be applied to all of Africa's regions and to all African countries.

The paradox here is that Central Africa — which is one of the regions most endowed with potential and economic resources — has been one of the weakest performers with regard to economic development and social integration. However, at the initiative of the region's heads of State, several regional and subregional organizations have been set up. I would mention the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which is concerned with issues of peace and security as well as economic integration, and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC), which — unlike ECCAS, which covers the region's 11 countries — covers only a limited number of countries and is concerned with much more specific issues. I should also mention that other organizations of a regional nature have a presence in the region, such as the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States. The United Nations is also very present in the region with several missions, offices, programmes and initiatives, the most recent of which is the project of an international conference on the Great Lakes.

I would also mention continental initiatives — two African Union initiatives with regard to peace and security: the Peace and Security Council, now taking shape and becoming operational, which is to coordinate all regional mechanisms dealing with conflict prevention, management and settlement; and another

continental initiative, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), whose programme covers all the problems related to peace and security and economic and social development that were identified in the report.

The African Union is of the view that we must improve and strengthen the capacities of existing regional and subregional organizations — particularly ECCAS — with a view to enabling them to be much more operational and to better address the subregion's problems related to peace, security and economic integration.

The African Union agrees with the analysis brought out in the report — which I believe has met the approval of all those who have spoken in this morning's debate — that, given the diversity of the challenges facing the region, an integrated, comprehensive and resolute approach is needed. The African Union also recognizes that there must be better coordination of all activities and initiatives in the subregion. Such coordination is essential at the vertical level, to prevent duplication, but also at the horizontal level, to harmonize all activities undertaken.

We believe such coordination work to be essential, and we support the request by States of the region that the United Nations ensure a political presence in Central Africa. As to what form such a structure should take, we rely on the flexibility shown by the countries of the subregion that are prepared to consider this issue further with the special envoy to be appointed by the Secretary-General.

In addition to supporting the request by countries of the subregion, the African Union would like to emphasize the fact that the form of such coordination matters less than its efficiency and effectiveness. We also wish to stress that the coordination of all activities undertaken by the various agencies of the United Nations and the organizations it has established is essential.

**The President:** I now give the floor to Mr. Nelson Cosme, Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs of the Economic Community of Central African States.

**Mr. Cosme** (Economic Community of Central African States) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

At the outset, let me express to you, Sir, our congratulations on the exemplary and competent way in which you have guided the work of the Security Council during November — a month full of symbolism for the Republic of Angola and for you, its worthy representative.

I also wish to thank Mr. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General, for his prompt decision to send a multidisciplinary mission to Central Africa to look into ways and means of implementing a comprehensive, integrated, resolute and agreed-upon approach to the problems of peace, security and development in the subregion. At the same time, I wish also to sincerely thank the Security Council for all the support it has given that initiative. ECCAS, the beneficiary of the mission, is fully prepared to provide any other additional contribution it can within the context of implementing decisions that will be taken by the Council in that regard.

Much positive work has been accomplished through the joint efforts of ECCAS and the United Nations, thanks to the tireless efforts that the United Nations system continues to make in our subregion, so afflicted by the many conflicts experienced by many of our countries, whose consequences are still being felt today.

I have said that progress is being made in the subregion regarding the collective security mechanism; the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa has become operational.

In that regard, it can never be said too often that ECCAS — working with the United Nations, of course, and other organizations and interested countries — was promptly seized of the situation in the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe at the time of the attempted overturning of the constitutional order on 16 July 2003. ECCAS clearly welcomes the rapid and concerted progress that has resulted.

Aware of the importance of conflict prevention and, if need be, conflict management and settlement in the subregion, the member States of the Community organized, at the end of July this year at Franceville in Gabon, a joint military exercise of simulated peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance operations called "Biyongho 2003", in which seven member

countries participated. As a first step, we believe that that exercise was a success, and we want to hold that type of exercise regularly, every two years.

A meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of member countries was held in October in Brazzaville to set up a regional brigade in the framework of the Central African Multinational Force and its staff, in accordance with the wishes and the guidelines of the African Union. In this case, the Council's support will be required, and the secretariat is certain that the Council will accord it all due diligence once it has expressed to the Council the relevant priorities and needs.

In order to ensure better prevention of potential conflicts, the ECCAS secretariat, with the European Union's assistance, is working on a study on the best prevention strategy. Therefore, the request in the Secretary-General's report might also find a response here, as was said so eloquently by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Cameroon. The consultant carrying out this study is now visiting Community member States. That will make it possible, among other things, to make the Early-Warning Mechanism for Central Africa operational.

All these measures attest to the increasing importance of the peace and security dimension in Central Africa and are encouraging to all our partners.

This year will have seen many joint activities by the two secretariats of the United Nations and ECCAS and in most of our member States, if we consider the many positive initiatives here and there within the member States of Central Africa.

Who could fail to notice the real progress made in consolidating peace, reconciliation and reconstruction in Angola? Who could ignore the extremely helpful measures taken in the Central African Republic, particularly marked by a national dialogue in which the contrition and requests for forgiveness on the part of former leaders could be a pillar of a new era for a single vision and concerted socio-economic development? Who could fail to welcome the giant steps taken by the great country of the Democratic Republic of the Congo towards new horizons, where all the Congolese seem to be moving forward together, particularly in quickly establishing political and military structures? Who could fail to welcome the progress made in the reconciliation and reconstruction process in the Republic of Congo, and, above all, the political will demonstrated by the protagonists of the Sao Tome and Principe crisis, during which ECCAS played an important role of mediation.

The peaceful change of Government on 30 April 2002 in Burundi and the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement in Pretoria between the Burundi Government of Transition and the *Forces pour la défense de la démocratie* are more good news coming from the Central African subregion.

Rwanda, which suffered so much from the 1994 genocide, has now resumed its rightful seat within the concert of nations, having organized presidential and legislative elections.

All these developments testify to efforts of the subregion on behalf of the dynamic now under way in this part of Africa and to the growing importance of the dimension of peace and security in Central Africa.

Members will recall the large ministerial delegation from Central African Member States, mandated by our heads of State, who participated in the Security Council debate on 22 October 2002 and who called for greater and closer cooperation between the United Nations and Central Africa. The Council responded favourably to that call, and we are grateful for that. The mission led by Mr. Kalomoh, whom we congratulate and who visited all the ECCAS members, had talks at the highest level. At that time, all member States and their authorities and the political and civil society leaders of the subregion called for a standing presence of the United Nations through the opening of a regional United Nations office. A regional office capable of helping establish a regional framework should strengthen stability, security, cooperation and sustainable development. Such an office must be able to support not only ECCAS and its collective security mechanisms, but also the regional mechanisms for economic integration. It is in that context that we support the statement by Ambassador Basile Ikouebe, Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Congo, speaking on behalf of the current Chairman of ECCAS, who reaffirmed our member States' resolve to make ECCAS a pillar of regional integration in Central Africa. As he said, Central Africa is not asking for just one more office; rather, it is calling for a structure, which — in keeping with the wishes of the Security Council — would take an integrated and global approach to the problems of the subregion. The Ambassador of Cameroon reiterated that point. That is, indeed, the wish of the States members of ECCAS.

ECCAS is aware of the importance of strategic partnership with the United Nations. We reaffirm our faith in the wisdom of the Security Council with regard to action to implement this global and integrated approach, in accordance with the wishes has already expressed by the Council on this matter.

**The President:** I thank the Deputy Secretary for Political Affairs of the Economic Community of Central African States for his kind words addressed to me.

I now give the floor to Mr. Kalomoh to respond to comments and questions raised.

**Mr. Kalomoh:** First of all, I would like to express our appreciation for the understanding and appreciation expressed today with regard to problems related to the situation in Central Africa and to respond very briefly to some of the questions raised.

First, I would like to thank the delegation of Germany for its continued interest in the Central African Republic. I would like to assure it that we have, indeed, visited the Central African Republic — a country that is emerging from conflict.

Secondly, I wish to respond to some of the issues raised by the Ambassador of Cameroon. First, with regard to whether any countries were opposed to the establishment of a permanent office in the subregion, I think it would be wrong to say that there was opposition — as paragraph 9 of the Secretary-General's report indicates. The question was not raised in that fashion. As can be seen, all countries except one expressed the very strong desire for an enhanced United Nations presence in the subregion in the form of an office. I would not want to say that there was opposition, but only that one country did not raise that issue.

Concerns have been expressed about how the Secretary-General intends to respond to the desires expressed by the countries members of the Economic Community of Central African States. The Secretary-General has outlined two immediate steps that he proposes to take. One is to request a further review of the programmes and activities of the United Nations in the region with a view to better coordinating those activities. He will form further views following the report on that review. He also intends to appoint a special envoy to continue further discussions with the leaders in the region on the complex issues of economic integration and political cooperation and on all other issues identified in the report.

I note with encouragement that, notwithstanding some divergence in viewpoints on the immediate course of action that needs to be taken, there is general agreement and recognition of the need for the international community to remain engaged and support the efforts of the countries of the subregion.

I also wish to affirm one point that was made clear to us: the countries are not seeking the support of the international community as a substitute for their own efforts. They were very clear and insistent on that point. But they want their efforts to be supplemented by those of the international community. They are very much aware that they are primarily responsible for development in the region.

I believe that we should continue to support the efforts of the countries of the subregion and the efforts of the Secretary-General as we continue to bring those countries closer and put to an end to the poverty and instability in the region.

I think that I have been able to respond briefly to some of the key issues that were raised. Once again, I express my deep appreciation for the support and understanding that has been expressed for this important region of the African continent.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Kalomoh for the clarifications that he has provided.

There are no further speakers on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4872

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4872**nd meeting

Monday, 24 November 2003, 4.25 p.m.

New York

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| *President:* | Mr. Gaspar Martins | (Angola) |
| *Members:* | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Chungong Ayafor |
| | Chile | Mr. Muñoz |
| | China | Mr. Wang Guangya |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. von Ungern-Sternberg |
| | Guinea | Mr. Fall |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Khalid |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Lavrov |
| | Spain | Ms. Menéndez |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Emyr Jones Parry |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

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03-62817 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation between Iraq and Kuwait**

**The President:** I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/1107, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Bulgaria, Chile, Guinea, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

*In favour:*

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President:** There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1518 (2003).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Lavrov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We have joined the Security Council consensus on the establishment of a new Committee charged with drawing up a list of individuals and entities pursuant to paragraphs 19 and 23 of resolution 1483 (2003). At the same time, we would like to note that not all of our concerns were adequately addressed in the resolution just adopted.

We have no concerns about the resolution in principle, with regard to the need to continue the work of drawing up a list of individuals and entities that fall under paragraph 23 of resolution 1483 (2003). However, we are convinced, due to the very unstable situation in the area of ensuring security in Iraq, that it is necessary to continue monitoring for any possible violations of the bans on the delivery of weapons and ammunition to that country. Those bans remain fully in force under resolution 1483 (2003).

We do not understand why the authors of the resolution just adopted refused, at this stage, to entrust this new Committee with the function of monitoring the arms embargo, particularly at a time when we regularly hear statements on the illegal flow of arms into Iraq.

The arms embargo was imposed by the Security Council, which is responsible for ensuring appropriate and transparent monitoring of compliance with the embargo. If the new Committee is not entrusted with monitoring for violations, any new violations will be considered directly by the Security Council. We intend to come back to the issue of giving this new Committee monitoring authority, as provided for in paragraph 3 of the resolution just adopted.

**Mr. von Ungern-Sternberg** (Germany): The resolution just adopted establishes a follow-up Committee to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 661 (1990), which was terminated on 21 November, according to resolution 1483 (2003). Germany has approved this resolution because we attach great importance to continuity as regards the implementation of sanctions resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

We would like to thank the delegation of the United Kingdom for having taken the initiative to create this follow-up mechanism.

We agree that the identification of individuals and entities pursuant to paragraph 19 of resolution 1483 (2003) is a task best carried out by a subsidiary organ of the Security Council.

The arms embargo against Iraq has been maintained pursuant to paragraph 10 of resolution 1483 (2003). Given the fact that the mandate of this follow-up Committee does not cover the monitoring of compliance with the arms embargo, it will be up to the Council to supervise the arms embargo against Iraq.

For technical reasons but also for reasons of principle, we would have preferred if the mandate of this new sanctions committee had covered all remaining sanctions, for example, including the arms embargo. We therefore believe that it would be advisable to review the mandate of the committee in due course, in accordance with paragraph 3 of this resolution.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of France.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) *(spoke in French)*: France voted in favour of the resolution that created a new committee in charge of taking over from the 661 committee, which concluded last Friday, in order to ensure the follow-up of the implementation of freezes and transfers of the financial assets of the Government of Saddam Hussain in Iraq and of high officials of his regime, as provided for in Security Council resolution 1483 (2003). It was particularly important to ensure, from a practical and technical standpoint, the continuity of the monitoring of the implementation of those financial sanctions.

The possibility of broadening the mandate of the new committee to include monitoring the arms embargo, as defined in paragraph 10 of resolution 1483 (2003), is a step in the right direction. Indeed, we attach great importance to monitoring the implementation of sanctions, and, in particular, of embargoes adopted by the Security Council.

In this regard, the sanctions committees, subsidiary organs of the Security Council, are irreplaceable instruments that the Council, in its exercise of sanctions, systematically establishes. For reasons of principle related to the coherence of the Security Council's practice in monitoring the implementation of sanctions, and bearing in mind the current situation in Iraq, it would seem particularly desirable that the new committee be able, as soon as possible, to monitor compliance by States with the arms embargo against Iraq. In the meantime, this monitoring should be ensured directly by the Security Council.

**Mr. Pujalte** (Mexico) *(spoke in Spanish)*: Mexico joined in the consensus for the adoption of resolution 1518, based on the following understandings: first, in connection with operative paragraph 2, regarding adoption of the guidelines and definitions for the implementation of the provisions of paragraphs 19 through 23 of resolution 1483 (2003), Mexico notes that on its territory, this will be done in accordance with Mexican law and with strict compliance with the principle of legality. Secondly, with regard to operative paragraph 3 of the resolution, which refers to the possibility of authorizing an additional provision concerning observing Member States' fulfilment of their obligations, under paragraph 10 of resolution 1483 (2003), Mexico notes the following: a general embargo was established by resolution 661 (1990), including an arms embargo. Security Council resolution 1483 (2003) lifted all of the sanctions except for the arms embargo and, therefore, there is an obligation on the part of the Council to oversee the arms embargo in Iraq as is done with other embargoes by the Security Council, without any distinction whatsoever.

**The President:** The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4873

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4873**rd meeting

Monday, 24 November 2003, 4.35 p.m.

New York

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| *President:* | Mr. Gaspar Martins | (Angola) |
| *Members:* | Bulgaria | Mr. Tafrov |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Chungong Ayafor |
| | Chile | Mr. Muñoz |
| | China | Mr. Cheng Jingye |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. von Ungern-Sternberg |
| | Guinea | Mr. Fall |
| | Mexico | Mr. De Alba |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Khalid |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Konuzin |
| | Spain | Ms. Menéndez |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Atieh |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Emyr Jones Parry |
| | United States of America | Mr. Negroponte |

## Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

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03-62823 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Côte d'Ivoire**

**The President**: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 37 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, Nana Akufo-Addo.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Nana Akufo-Addo and the delegation of the Economic Community of West African States took seats at the Council table.*

**The President**: On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, as well as to His Excellency Mr. Mamadou Bamba, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, Mr. François Lonsény Fall, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea, Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria and Mr. Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure His Excellency, Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council I extend a warm welcome to the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, and invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting, and I give him the floor.

**The Secretary-General** (*spoke in French*): May I first of all commend the leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and in particular Presidents Kufuor and Obasanjo on their tireless efforts to find a solution to the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire. I also wish to thank all of those countries that have provided contingents to the ECOWAS mission in Côte d'Ivoire. They are fulfilling their mandate in extremely difficult conditions, but thanks to them and to the French forces of the Licorne operation, an escalation of the conflict has, thus far, been avoided. However, I am deeply concerned by the current political stalemate created by the withdrawal of the Forces nouvelles from the Government of National Reconciliation on 23 September. Unless urgent steps are taken to resolve that impasse, the tenuous security situation in the country could deteriorate still further.

Already, there are signs that the situation in some parts of the northern provinces controlled by the Forces Nouvelles is degenerating into lawlessness. Tension between the Forces nouvelles and the Forces armées nationales de Côte d'Ivoire is also escalating. In that context, the Forces nouvelles has declared a state of emergency in areas under their control, and accused President Gbagbo of preparing to attack their positions. There is clearly a danger that Côte d'Ivoire could slip back into conflict.

I was pleased to note, however, that, during the summit of seven ECOWAS leaders held in Accra on 11 November, President Gbagbo and Prime Minister Diarra worked closely together to ensure that the Government of National Reconciliation is able to function and to implement the work programme developed by the Government last May. It is indeed essential that the Government be able to carry out the tasks assigned to it under the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement with the necessary means and authority.

The undertakings made by the President and Prime Minister in Accra must be matched by deeds. In this regard, all parties concerned must demonstrate genuine political will to honour their commitments and implement the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in good faith.

In order to jump-start the stalled peace process, the parties must tackle the fundamental issues behind the deadlock. As indicated in my latest report to the Security Council, issued on 4 November,

implementation of the key provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement must begin without delay.

I urge the Ivorian parties to take the key measures identified in that report immediately. Those measures include the following: the Forces nouvelles must rejoin the Government of National Reconciliation without delay; all parties must accept the Government of National Reconciliation as fully constituted after the appointment of the Defence and Security Ministers on 12 September; all militias must begin to disband immediately; the armed groups must be cantoned and disarmed as soon as possible, while at the same time the country's security forces are restructured; the de facto partition of the country must end at once; and the National Assembly must adopt, as soon as possible, the reforms proposed in the Government's work programme.

The United Nations reaffirms its commitment to continue to work closely with ECOWAS in the pursuit of peace in Côte d'Ivoire and to help implement the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. I intend to send an assessment mission to Côte d'Ivoire soon to review the situation on the ground, so that I can prepare recommendations for the consideration of the Council, pursuant to resolution 1514 (2003), which requested me to report on how efforts of the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire to facilitate peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire might be improved, including through the possible reinforcement of the United Nations presence in the country.

Finally, let me appeal once again to all the members of this Council, and to the international community as a whole, to remain engaged in Côte d'Ivoire and to provide the necessary support to enable the ECOWAS forces to continue their useful work in that country.

**The President**: At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and the current Chairman and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, respectively. Thereafter, the Security Council will hold a private meeting with the ECOWAS delegation at which Council members may ask questions.

I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, His Excellency Mr. Nana Akufo-Addo.

**Mr. Akufo-Addo** (Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana): I must begin first, Mr. President, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November and to thank you and members of the Security Council for receiving once more a ministerial delegation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Mediation and Security Council on such short notice. That is yet another sign of the support and concern of the Security Council for matters concerning ECOWAS and we are grateful for that.

Today's delegation from ECOWAS is composed of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, Mr. Mamadou Bamba; the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea, Mr. François Fall; the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ambassador Olu Adeniji, an old friend of this Organization; the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States, Mr. Mohamed Chambas; and myself, Nana Akufo-Addo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman of the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council. The delegation is fortified by the presence here in the Council Chamber of Mr. Albert Tevoedjre, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Côte d'Ivoire and Chairman of the Monitoring Committee (*Comité de Suivi*), Ambassador Raph Uwechue, Special Representative of the ECOWAS Executive Secretary in Côte d'Ivoire and member of the Monitoring Committee, and Colonel R. O. Sackey, Deputy Commander of the ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI).

We are here today to brief the Security Council on current developments in the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. You may recall that earlier this year a ministerial delegation of the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council that I was privileged to lead had the honour of addressing this august body on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. Since then ECOWAS has continued to benefit from the support of the United Nations in general, and that of the Security Council, in particular, by its endorsement of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement in resolution 1464 (2003) of 4 February 2003 and the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI) by resolution 1479 (2003) of 13 May 2003. Since then, some of the terms of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement were subsequently clarified by the provisions of the Accra II Accord.

Significant progress has been made towards the restoration of peace in Côte d'Ivoire, notably by: the joint declaration of a cessation of hostilities by the National Armed Forces of Côte d'Ivoire and the Forces nouvelles and the establishment of a Joint Reunification Committee; the formation of the Government of National Reconciliation; the promulgation of the amnesty law by the National Assembly; the progressive re-establishment of State authority in several parts of the country; the elaboration of draft laws relating to the various issues addressed by the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement; and the setting up of a National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration.

Despite this progress, the peace process has faced certain difficulties such as disagreement over the appointment of certain Government officials and heads of Government corporations; concerns over the personal safety of members of the Government of National Reconciliation; the persistence of provocative demonstrations and inflammatory statements by the various parties; the delay in the implementation of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process; the delay in returning the country to normality as a result of the continued de facto partitioning of the country; and the non-delegation to the consensually chosen Prime Minister of the required executive prerogatives for the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Accord. These difficulties have resulted in the suspension by the Forces nouvelles of their participation in the Government of National Reconciliation, the Council of Ministers and the DDR programme.

It has, therefore, become imperative to find a rapid solution to these difficulties to ensure that there is no further deterioration of the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. The social and economic development of the country may then be compromised, the suffering of the people unduly prolonged and the stability of the West African region again jeopardized. There is, thus, a need to reinforce initiatives aimed at facilitating and accelerating the implementation of the confidence-building measures provided in the Linas-Marcoussis and Accra Accords and thereby creating a momentum for the implementation of these agreements.

Concerned by this situation, the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the President of the Republic of Ghana, His Excellency John Agyekum Kufuor, convened in Accra on 11 November 2003, a consultative closed-door meeting of some Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS, comprising President Mathieu Kérékou of Benin, President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, President Laurent Gbagbo of Côte d'Ivoire, President Tandja Mamadou of Niger, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Gnassingbé Eyadema of Togo in order to consider the security situation in West Africa, and in particular the situation in Côte d'Ivoire.

The Heads of State emphasized the need for the President and the Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire to work closely together to ensure that the Government of National Reconciliation is able to function as a team and implement the programme of work drawn up; the need to guarantee the security of the members of the Government of National Reconciliation by immediate strengthening of the ECOWAS Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) VIP Protection Unit; the responsibility of the Ivorian political class for the excesses of the media and the need for the class to contribute effectively together with civil society to the reinforcement of the process of national reconciliation; and the need for close and harmonious relations among the States of West Africa to enhance the security of the region and help hasten the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire.

The Heads of State concluded with the view that the presence of a robust peacekeeping force, capable of securing the entire national territory, would contribute greatly to the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Accord. ECOWAS, unfortunately, does not dispose of the means required to raise and maintain such a force. It had, thus, become necessary for the United Nations to consider the transformation of the ECOMICI into a full-fledged United Nations peacekeeping force.

The meeting, involving a frank exchange of views, ended on a positive note, which permitted three days later the Ivorian Prime Minister, Seydou Diarra, to go to Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso, to meet with the Faso President, His Excellency Blaise Compaoré. The meeting was successful. This process of rapprochement has to be warmly welcomed and encouraged for it represents the best way to peace and stability in the region. It is in the same vein that, given the assurances and undertakings that flowed from the meeting, we anticipate the imminent return of the Forces nouvelles to full participation in the

Government of National Reconciliation, an event which will give greater impetus to the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Accord.

It is worth reiterating that insecurity in Côte d'Ivoire has remained the real threat to the peace process. Various sources have alleged that the various parties are strengthening their positions militarily in the eventuality of a resumption of hostilities. It is vital for peace in Côte d'Ivoire that dialogue, accommodation and reconciliation, and not the resort to force, remain for the parties the means for the resolution of the crisis. All measures should be taken in order to continue to secure the ceasefire and to implement the security provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Accord. ECOWAS, for its part, continues to work closely with the French troops of Operation Licorne to secure the line of separation between the belligerents. ECOWAS has also decided to deploy immediately 80 additional policemen to augment the personal security of the Ministers of the Government of National Reconciliation. These efforts need now to be supported by a stronger and wider engagement of the international community.

I wish to renew once again our sincere appreciation to the Security Council for all its efforts and attention to the West African region and request that the Security Council consider the possibility of establishing a United Nations peacekeeping force in Côte d'Ivoire and of transforming the ECOWAS mission in Côte d'Ivoire into part of this United Nations peacekeeping force. We strongly believe that this step will be decisive for the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire. Indeed and in addition, there appears to be virtual unanimity amongst the principal actors of the Ivorian crisis from the President of the Republic, His Excellency Laurent Gbagbo, and the Prime Minister, Seydou Diarra, through to the former President of the Republic and leader of the Parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), Henri Konan Bedie, the former Prime Minister and leader of the Rassemblement démocratique africain (RDA), Allasane Ouattara, and the Minister of State and leader of the Forces nouvelles, Guillaume Soro, about the need for such a step. Once again, the region is ready to contribute to this peacekeeping force and work closely with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the implementation of its mandate.

I cannot end without appealing to the proverbial sense of humanity and solidarity of this great institution, the Security Council of the United Nations. Despite the current difficulties confronting them, the peoples of West Africa are determined to be part of the global movement for democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. They need your patience and assistance at this critical juncture of their history, and I am confident that, in the end, they will not disappoint you.

I wish to thank you, President and Members of the Security Council, for your kind attention.

**Mr. Ibn Chambas** (Economic Community of West African States): I wish to join Hon. Nana Akufo-Addo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, in expressing our appreciation to you, Mr. President, and to the other members of the Security Council for granting us another opportunity to address you on the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, a matter of grave concern to peoples of the West African subregion.

I wish to underscore the economic consequences of the war for Côte d'Ivoire and the other countries of the subregion, and particularly the social and economic dimension of the dangers posed if the crisis continues.

Since the outbreak of the crisis on 19 September 2002, the economic and social situation in Côte d'Ivoire and the neighbouring countries has continued to deteriorate. The gross domestic product (GDP) growth of Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger has fallen as trade amongst those countries has been disrupted. The economy of Côte d'Ivoire, which is the second largest in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) subregion after Nigeria, represents approximately 13 per cent of the GDP of West Africa. The country has a population of about 16.6 million, with a 27 per cent immigrant component originating mainly from neighbouring countries. Côte d'Ivoire exports agricultural, agro-industrial and manufactured goods to its neighbours and is a major destination for livestock products from the countries of the Sahel. It is the leading world producer of cocoa and one of the major producers of coffee, hevea and palm oil.

At 30 per cent of the total volume of trade with ECOWAS countries, Côte d'Ivoire dominates intra-regional trade. In 2001, exports to other ECOWAS countries represented 33 per cent of total export figures, while imports represented 27 per cent. This is in comparison to an average intra-ECOWAS trade of about 15 per cent. Its port network of infrastructure and

geographical position have combined to make Côte d'Ivoire a transit corridor for goods and travellers within the West African subregion. The country also plays host to a substantial number of West African workers and traders, who transfer a considerable volume of funds to their home countries.

These are compelling reasons why the restoration of peace and stability to Côte d'Ivoire is a sine qua non for the stability and development of the rest of the subregion, and in particular the consolidation of the fledgling democracies in West Africa. The continuing unrest in Côte d'Ivoire is a cause for legitimate concern to both the leaders and peoples of the West African subregion.

Despite the considerable efforts deployed within the subregion by ECOWAS, the fact remains that the crisis rumbles on and, indeed, there are troubling signs that the situation is deteriorating. The existence of bands of armed groups, whose activities extend beyond the Ivorian borders and threaten the successful efforts of the international community to bring peace to Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, should galvanize us all to act decisively to curtail their activities.

There is, therefore, a need to secure Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone as a single undertaking. We should adopt a comprehensive regional approach to the crisis in those countries. ECOWAS is therefore calling on the Security Council to work with us in a concerted effort to restore peace and stability to Côte d'Ivoire, thereby consolidating the gains made in Sierra Leone and, lately, in Liberia. For this, we need to back political action by the presence of a robust peacekeeping force in order to create an enabling environment for dialogue, national reconciliation and the speedy and full implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement, which remains for us the sole framework for the resolution of the crisis.

ECOWAS is confident that it can, as usual, rely on the support of the Security Council in its efforts to secure a lasting peace in Côte d'Ivoire and will appreciate any initiatives that the Council might wish to take in order to revive the peace process in Côte d'Ivoire.

Peace in Côte d'Ivoire is inextricably linked to lasting peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia and, indeed, all of West Africa. Once again, we thank the Council for its deep interest in the preservation of peace and security in West Africa and for the honour done us in giving us the opportunity to address this body.

**The President**: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to a private meeting to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.4874

Security Council

Distr.: General
24 November 2003

Original: English

# Official communiqué of the 4874th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

## Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Monday, 24 November 2003, at 5.10 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4874th meeting, held in private on 24 November 2003, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Côte d'Ivoire'.

"In accordance with the decision taken at the 4873rd meeting, the President, under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, invited His Excellency Mr. Nana Akufo Addo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana, as well as members of the Ministerial delegation, to participate in the Council's discussion.

"The President also invited Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's rules of procedure.

"Members of the Council, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS had a constructive exchange of views."

03-63113 (E) 241103

United Nations S/PV.4875

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4875**th meeting

Thursday, 4 December 2003, 12.35 p.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President* | Mr. Tafrov | (Bulgaria) |
| *Members* | Angola | Mr. Antonio |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Ndoumbe Eboule |
| | Chile | Mr. Andereya Latorre |
| | China | Mr. Cheng Jingye |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Akram |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Gatilov |
| | Spain | Ms. Menéndez |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Ms. Howe-Jones |
| | United States of America | Mr. Rosenblatt |

## Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-64099 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.*

**Expression of thanks to the retiring President**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of December, I should like to take the opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Ismael Abraão Gaspar Martins, Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of November 2003. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Mr. Ismael Abraão Gaspar Martins for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Côte d'Ivoire**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djangone-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire), took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President** (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council declares that it is gravely concerned at the attempts by armed elements to cross the ceasefire line, which were observed by the forces of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the French forces on 29 and 30 November, and at the serious consequences which might ensue.

"The Security Council reiterates its full support for the ECOWAS and French forces and commends them for the action they took to foil such attempts, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 1464 (2003) and 1498 (2003).

"The Security Council strongly underscores to all the Ivorian parties their primary responsibility for observing the ceasefire, in accordance with the LinasMarcoussis Agreement.

"The Security Council firmly calls on all the parties to refrain from any action that might jeopardize observance of the ceasefire and implementation of the LinasMarcoussis Agreement, and from encouraging such acts.

"The Security Council reiterates that it is absolutely essential for all the parties to make every effort to expedite the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. In that regard it once again emphasizes the importance of having the Forces nouvelles participate fully in the Government of national reconciliation, of having the entire Government meet immediately, and of having it take the necessary measures to implement all the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. It also reaffirms the urgency of carrying out operations to regroup the opposing forces so that disarmament and demobilization can begin, and of ensuring that these operations are accompanied by measures of reintegration into the regular army or into civilian life.

"In this connection the Security Council reiterates that it intends to consider the Secretary-General's recommendations concerning ways to facilitate peace and stability in Côte d'Ivoire.

"The Security Council welcomes the commitments made by President Laurent Gbagbo in his speech of 27 November, in which he reaffirmed that he intended to implement the provisions of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement without further ado, and calls for the implementation of these commitments.

"The Security Council calls on all the parties in Côte d'Ivoire and the countries of the region to guarantee the safety and access of the

United Nations S/PV.4876

# Security Council

Fifty-eighth year

*Provisional*

**4876**th meeting

Thursday, 4 December 2003, 3.30 p.m.

New York

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| *President* | Mr. Tafrov | (Bulgaria) |
| *Members* | Angola | Mr. Lucas |
| | Cameroon | Mr. Tidjani |
| | Chile | Mr. Maquieira |
| | China | Mr. Wang Guangya |
| | France | Mr. De La Sablière |
| | Germany | Mr. Pleuger |
| | Guinea | Mr. Boubacar Diallo |
| | Mexico | Mr. Pujalte |
| | Pakistan | Mr. Akram |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Smirnov |
| | Spain | Ms. Menéndez |
| | Syrian Arab Republic | Mr. Mekdad |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Emyr Jones Parry |
| | United States of America | Mr. Cunningham |

## Agenda

The situation in Burundi

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

03-64105 (E)

*The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Burundi**

**The President** (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 37 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.*

**The President** (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Council, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa.

I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nkurunziza (Burundi) took a seat at the Council table.*

**The President** (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Gert Rosenthal, President of the Economic and Social Council.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Gert Rosenthal to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa.

**Mr. Zuma** (South Africa): Thank you very much, Mr. President, for affording me the honour of once again addressing the Security Council. It has been exactly one year since I was last afforded this privilege, having made a presentation to the Security Council on 4 December last year.

The twentieth summit of the Great Lakes Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, which was held on 16 November 2003 in Tanzania under the leadership of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Chairperson of the Regional Initiative on Burundi, and President Joaquim Chissano, Chairperson of the African Union, has mandated me, as facilitator, to report to the Security Council again and to request urgent direct assistance for the Burundi peace process. That assistance will help to consolidate the gains already made, prepare the ground for successful democratic elections in 11 months' time and firmly place Burundi on the road to lasting peace and stability.

We are pleased to report that tremendous progress has been made over the past year, and that we are ending 2003 on a positive note due to the significant developments that have taken place. Those have included the establishment of the African mission in Burundi, the conclusion of outstanding negotiations and the implementation of various agreements, including with regard to power-sharing and the transformation of the security apparatus.

The African mission, which was just a concept at this time last year, was successfully established in March 2003, and has worked tirelessly to fulfil its mandate. It was founded in terms of a decision of the nineteenth Summit Meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, which was held in Tanzania in December 2002. The establishment of the African mission was, in our view, in line with Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, which supports the establishment of regional initiatives for the resolution of conflicts, provided such arrangements are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Reference is also made to such initiatives in Chapter VI, which provides for the use of regional initiatives for the resolution of disputes without the active, direct involvement — but with the full support — of the United Nations.

The objectives of the African Mission are to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire agreements — a task it continues to undertake effectively, to our satisfaction; to support the disarmament and demobilization initiatives and advise on the reintegration of ex-combatants — a task it has begun to execute efficiently, as will be reported on in this presentation; to contribute to political and economic stability in Burundi — a responsibility it has executed exceptionally — in assisting the implementation of all agreements and preparing the groundwork for the social and economic reconstruction of Burundi; and to work to achieve conditions that are favourable for the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping mission — again, a task executed professionally and successfully — leading to our presence here today to say that the time has come for the United Nations to become actively involved.

The African Mission is headed by Ambassador Bah, the Special Representative of the African Union in Burundi, who is assisted by three deputies from South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. It integrates a military component, under the command of Major-General Sipho Binda of South Africa, comprising contingents from Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Africa. It also has a military observer component of 43 members from Burkina Faso, Gabon, Mali, Togo and Tunisia. The Joint Ceasefire Commission of the African Mission in Burundi is led by General Alioune Samba, of the United Nations. As of the end of November, the total strength of the force stood at 2,656 men and women. The Mission is widely regarded as a shining example and model of African solutions to continental security challenges.

With regard to ceasefire agreements, in my report last year, I indicated that at the signing of the agreement between the Conseil national pour la defense de la démocratie — Forces pour la defense de la démocratie (CNDD-FDD) of Mr. Nkurunziza and the Transitional Government, certain outstanding issues still needed to be negotiated. They included the participation of the former armed movements in the transitional institutions of the State and Parliament, as well as issues relating to disarmament and demobilization and the building of a new inclusive security apparatus in Burundi. The negotiations on those issues have been successfully concluded, leading to the signing of the two Pretoria Protocols of 8 October and 2 November 2003 and the comprehensive ceasefire agreement signed in Dar es Salaam on 16 November 2003, which was a consolidation of all agreements between the CNDD-FDD of Mr. Nkurunziza and the Transitional Government.

It is important to emphasize that since the signing of the first Pretoria Protocol between the Burundi Government and the CNDD-FDD on 8 October 2003, the level of violence was reduced drastically, bringing peace to at least 95 per cent of the territory of Burundi. The celebrations by Burundian refugees during the signing of the comprehensive agreement in Dar es Salaam was to us an indication of the genuine desire for peace of the people of Burundi.

We can therefore say without fear of contradiction that the Burundi peace process has entered a decisive and irreversible stage. This is more so because the implementation of all the ceasefire agreements and the Pretoria Protocols has been swift, and change is evident. Those developments have significantly boosted the implementation of the Arusha Agreement for Peace and Reconciliation of August 2000, which guides the transitional period.

The Transitional Government now includes representatives of the three movements which have signed ceasefire agreements with the Transitional Government. Among the key new members of the Burundian cabinet is Mr. Pierre Nkurunziza, leader of the CNDD-FDD, who was recently appointed Senior Minister of State and Good Governance. Members of the CNDD-FDD who are to join transitional institutions have returned to Burundi, and Mr. Nkurunziza is expected to return to Bujumbura on Saturday. The return of Mr. Nkurunziza and his delegation to public life in Burundi is another critical milestone in the peace process.

Another practical demonstration of the commitment of the Burundians to peace was the smooth and proficient manner in which the presidential alternation took place in May this year. President Pierre Buyoya, from the Tutsi political family, vacated office and was replaced by President Domitien Ndayizeye, from the Hutu political family, in line with the Arusha Agreement of 2000. The country has therefore been

consistently moving forward. It must also be noted that Burundi has successfully completed the first two thirds of the transition period, at the end of which — in 11 months — a democratically elected legislature and executive should be in place to replace transitional institutions.

We are of the view that because of these positive developments, Burundi is today closer to lasting peace than ever before in its 10 years of conflict.

The fact that the Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu — Forces nationales de libération (PALIPEHUTU-FNL) of Agathon Rwasa is currently outside the peace process is regrettable. However, that does not present an obstacle to the peace process, taking into account that the majority of parties are part of the process.

The November Summit issued a clear message to the FNL to join the peace process within three months. According to the Summit, after that deadline, or in case of a categorical refusal to join the negotiation process, the FNL would be considered an organization that is against peace and stability. The heads of State urged the support of that position by the United Nations and the international community as a whole in order to put pressure on the movement.

We appreciate the consistent public call made by the Security Council to the FNL over a period of time for that movement to join the peace process without delay. We note, for example, the 14 August 2003 statement by the President of the Security Council inviting member States of the Great Lakes region to use all their influence and pressure to compel the FNL to engage in peace talks.

The Summit mandated me to continue attempts to bring the FNL into the process. I have sent a communication to them and hope for a positive response. In my last meeting with them, last year, they reaffirmed their willingness to join the peace process but imposed pre-conditions. I shall continue to try to engage the movement, and I am still optimistic that a solution can be found.

While we celebrate the tremendous achievements of the past year, much work remains to be done. Burundi faces serious challenges in the weeks and months ahead. Part of that includes the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of returning combatants, as well as the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. The CNDD of Jean Bosco and the PALIPEHUTU-FNL of Alain Mugabarabona have begun to canton some of their combatants in the cantonment site at Muyange. They have indicated that they had more combatants who would be cantoned soon. The combatants of the CNDD-FDD of Pierre Nkurunziza are already proceeding to various assembly points to be cantoned. In early November, I took a CNDD-FDD delegation — led by its Secretary-General, Hussein Rajabu — to Burundi so that it could begin preparations for participation in the African mission. The visit once again indicated to the Burundian population that the peace process is moving forward. It is important to note that many refugees, mainly from Tanzania, began to move into Burundi on their own when the final agreements were signed. The mood is therefore one of optimism and great expectations.

The African mission, which is responsible for the cantonment and disarmament of the combatants prior to demobilization, requires resources to carry out its mandate effectively. And, most important, the African mission requires resources to maintain the African mission force. Very soon, the mission will be required to take full responsibility for the maintenance of the troops, as the period allocated for self-sustenance by the respective troop-contributing countries will come to an end. It is extremely urgent that financial resources be found without delay. I must emphasize that we appreciate the assistance pledged by the Security Council in the statement of 18 December last year — relating to, among other issues, facilitation of logistical assistance for the deployment of the African Mission — and the consistent calls for support from the donor community.

We wish to reiterate that the continued success of the Burundi peace process requires more direct United Nations involvement. The African Union, the Great Lakes Regional Initiative, the facilitation team, the African Mission and Burundian parties have made their contribution and have brought Burundi this far. The international community must now help to consolidate those positive gains.

We believe processes should now be put in place to look into how the United Nations can become actively and directly involved in the Burundi peace process. It is our well-considered view that conditions are now conducive for the United Nations to express its support and solidarity by taking over the African

mission in Burundi, re-hatting the existing military contingent and deploying a United Nations peacekeeping operation. The other, more immediate, relief measure is to provide material, logistical and financial support to the African mission to enable it to continue with its work while preparations continue for more robust involvement on the part of the United Nations.

We should like to express once again our gratitude to the United Nations for the support it has provided thus far in many respects, including the invaluable contribution of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Burundi, Ambassador Berhanu Dinka. We hold the view that, for Africa to be at peace with itself, we should all work together to support nations that are moving towards peace and stability. We are humbled by the knowledge that the Security Council is fully behind that African position and that it has always been prepared to lend its full support so that we may achieve the noble objective of a peaceful and prosperous Africa.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I thank the Deputy President of South Africa for his comprehensive briefing and for his analysis of the situation in Burundi.

I now give the floor to Mr. Gert Rosenthal, President of the Economic and Social Council.

**Mr. Rosenthal**: Mr. President, you have asked me to share with the Security Council the views of the Economic and Social Council on the latest developments in Burundi's peace process. Of course, I cannot speak for all members of the Economic and Social Council, but there are three points that I can safely make in the broader context of the deepening cooperation between our respective Councils.

The first thing I should like to say is that Burundi appears to have all the makings of what the framers of the Economic and Social Council's ad hoc advisory groups on African countries emerging from conflict surely had in mind. There is no doubt that the peace accords that are currently being implemented require tough decisions on the part of Burundians themselves, and that the steps already taken warrant — indeed, demand — international assistance.

Part of the needed assistance clearly falls within the purview of the Security Council, such as ensuring that the African Union mission peacekeepers either stay in place or are replaced by United Nations peacekeepers, or a combination of both, as put forward so eloquently by the Deputy President of South Africa.

Another part clearly falls within the purview of the Economic and Social Council, such as supporting the transition between rehabilitation and reconstruction, on the one hand, and longer-term development on the other. Among other aspects, I have in mind advocating for debt relief, budgetary support and the imperative of creating productive jobs.

A third part falls somewhere in between, including support in the area of demobilization, disarmament, reinsertion and reintegration of ex-combatants, and of humanitarian assistance to help in the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons. There is also the potential for a direct role for United Nations-based technical assistance — for example, in supporting the electoral process.

In other words, it is clear that the United Nations can play a wide-ranging role in supporting Burundi in an integrated manner.

A second point to be made is that — as is usually the case in countries emerging from conflict — peace is a prerequisite for reconstruction and development, while development is the principal ingredient in making sure that peace is durable. The immediate challenge in Burundi is to avoid slipping back into conflict. The larger challenge is to offer Burundians the possibility of a return to normalcy and an opportunity for a decent standard of living.

Finally, it is abundantly clear that the United Nations will not be the only — or even the principal — source of assistance. But we can play a catalytic role in working with bilateral and multilateral donors, non-governmental organizations and even the business sector in supporting the Burundians in their efforts to undo the immense damage they inflicted upon themselves and to strive towards a better future. We can advocate for a solid partnership between the international community and Burundians.

As I stated in this Chamber less than two weeks ago — when we met with the President of Guinea-Bissau — I believe that our mechanism of ad hoc groups on African countries emerging from conflict can make an important difference. Certainly Burundi offers us the possibility of demonstrating this proposition in a very decisive manner.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): As there is no list of speakers, I invite those members of the Council who wish to take the floor to make comments or put questions to the Deputy President of South Africa or the President of the Economic and Social Council to so indicate to the Secretariat as of now.

I see that some delegations have done so.

**Mr. De La Sablière** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would like first of all to welcome Deputy President Zuma, and to extend to the South African authorities, in particular President Mbeki, our deep appreciation and gratitude for their exceptional efforts to ensure that Burundi returns to the path of stability and peace. Those efforts round out those made by the heads of State of Uganda and of Tanzania, as well as of many other actors involved in the regional initiative for Burundi.

France welcomes the agreements of 2 and 8 November. There is still much to be done. I am thinking, of course, about the Forces nationales de libération (FNL), which has still not joined the peace process. I took careful note of the comments made earlier by Deputy President Zuma with regard to the state of contacts with the FNL. Despite the commendable efforts of the South African authorities, little headway is being made. When Deputy President Zuma spoke about that issue, however, he did raise our hopes somewhat by saying that he looked to the future with optimism, despite the difficulties encountered.

Peace and stability in Burundi will, of course, also depend on an improvement in the economic and social situation in the country. At this time it is crucial for the international community to keep up its efforts and stay abreast of developments. In this regard it will be essential for the Economic and Social Council — and I pay tribute to its President, who spoke earlier — to fully play its role in the context of the donor's conference, scheduled to take place in Brussels on 14 and 15 January.

Much progress has been made in the peace process in Burundi, and it must be further consolidated. France would be in favour, in principle, of a peacekeeping operation in Burundi. It seems to us necessary, in Burundi as elsewhere, for the international community to take over from and consolidate regional efforts, and to ensure an element of coherence in United Nations actions. Right now, however, we believe it essential that the international community be able to provide its full support for the efforts of the African Union. The European Union, for its part, is providing considerable support to that African organization in Burundi, with a contribution of 25 million euros.

**Mr. Lucas** (Angola): We welcome the presence among us of the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma. We thank him for his briefing on the current situation in Burundi, prospects for peace in that country and the efforts deployed by the African countries with a view to bringing peace to Burundi.

The presence of Deputy President Jacob Zuma in the Security Council today is testimony to his country's commitment and to his personal engagement in the search for a lasting solution to the conflict in Burundi. The role played by South Africa in the Burundian peace process has indeed been outstanding. By facilitating the inter-Burundian negotiations and by taking a leading role in the African Union mission, it has given continuity to the efforts of those Burundians committed to a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

The latest developments reflect the efforts deployed to put an end to a conflict that, in 10 years, left more than 100,000 people dead and resulted in hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons.

In the framework of the United Nations, South Africa, by adding the advisory group of the Economic and Social Council on Burundi, is pushing the international community to look at Burundi beyond the conflict and to lay the foundations for sustained international assistance to the country. The recent visit of an Economic and Social Council assessment mission to Burundi is a demonstration of such commitment.

We regret the fact that the Nairobi negotiations between the Government and the National Liberation Forces (FNL) failed to produce the expected results. As the Security Council has done on a number of occasions, we also urged the FNL immediately to stop the hostilities and to enter into serious negotiations with the Transitional Government without further delay.

It is our view that the positive trend of events in Burundi will become sustainable only when the international community shows its unquestionable readiness to assist Burundi in facing the social and

economic problems and other consequences derived from the armed conflict.

In this regard, the United Nations is called on to play a decisive role, together with the African Union, in the consolidation of peace and in post-conflict recovery and reconstruction.

The presence of the African Union reflects the important engagement of Africa in peace-building in Burundi, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. Such a decisive step should therefore be complemented by the deployment of a United Nations mission, in due time, as foreseen in the Arusha Agreement, and, in this regard, we would like to call the attention of the Council to the need to apply equal standards to Burundi as in Liberia, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and, we hope — and as seems to be the case — in Côte d'Ivoire in the near future.

The Security Council has reaffirmed on various occasions its support for the African mission in Burundi; commended the progress it helped produce so far in the cantonment of rebel combatants; and called on all concerned to provide, as a matter of urgency, adequate financial and logistic assistance to the mission.

The African countries, and in particular South Africa, which are presently carrying the main burden of the peacekeeping operation in Burundi, have limited resources, and a sustained effort by the entire international community is needed to ensure the mission's full operational capacity and its strengthening in order to meet the challenges that the Burundian peace process still faces.

It is agreed that a lasting solution for Burundi will depend in large measure on advances in its economic life. We welcome the willingness by the Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations Development Programme and the European Union to assist Burundi in meeting its economic needs.

However, a matter of great concern is the very low rate of disbursement of the pledges made by the international community for the economic recovery and reconstruction of Burundi. Of the $981 million pledged, only 36 per cent has been effectively disbursed so far.

In our view, the most critical issues facing Burundi at the present time are: the unwillingness of the last rebel group, the FNL, to join the peace process; the need for financial and logistical support for the African mission deployment, and its further transformation into a United Nations operation; and sustained economic assistance to the Government of Burundi, allowing it to consolidate the peace process.

To end, I would like to say a word on the regional dimension of the conflict in the countries of the Great Lakes region. The advances in the peace processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Burundi have set the stage to move forward in the search for a comprehensive settlement of the problems in the region based on good-neighbourly relations, security and cooperation among all the countries in the region.

**Mr. Akram** (Pakistan): First of all, I would like to express our happiness at seeing Deputy President Zuma of South Africa grace the Security Council once again with his presence and to thank him for his eloquent presentation to the Council. We welcome the positive role which South Africa and in particular Deputy President Zuma have played in facilitating the peace process in Burundi.

I would also like to take this opportunity to note with appreciation the thoughtful statement which has been made here today by the President of the Economic and Social Council, Ambassador Gert Rosenthal.

Pakistan is encouraged by the recent positive developments in the Burundian peace process, especially the participation of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) in the Transitional Government's power-sharing arrangement. We hope that an agreement will be reached soon which will open the way for the FNL to sign the ceasefire and join the peace process. We continue to urge all parties to abide by the Arusha Agreement.

Pakistan also supports the efforts of the African Union, particularly its peacekeeping mission. We endorse the appeal made by the Union, which was echoed here by Deputy President Zuma, for further logistical and financial support in order to enable it to fulfil its mandate — a mandate which the Council has supported in its resolution 1375 (2001).

We urge donor countries and organizations to provide the requisite assistance. The United Nations should also examine the possibility of contributing to peacekeeping efforts in Burundi, subject to the

agreement of all parties. A joint peacekeeping effort by the United Nations and the African Union has also been mentioned as a possibility by Deputy President Zuma.

While these important steps are being taken towards strengthening peace in Burundi, we still have to deal with the human consequences of the conflict. Humanitarian problems, including in particular the problem of the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons, and the issue of the cantonization and reintegration of armed fighters are among the issues that must urgently be addressed.

The situation in Burundi is complex and requires a comprehensive approach, not just in political terms but also in its social and economic dimensions. In the first instance, therefore, more generous assistance is required for socio-economic recovery in Burundi. The political process, without such appropriate economic support, will not be sustainable.

In addition, we need to explore ways by which the United Nations, particularly its three principal organs, can assist in peace, reconciliation, recovery and rehabilitation in Burundi. In that regard, we welcome the Economic and Social Council resolution of 17 July establishing an ad hoc advisory group. We should now perhaps begin to consider other ways in which the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council can work together comprehensively to address the problems in Burundi, for example, through the establishment of a composite committee.

The African Union, working together with the United Nations, including the Security Council, can succeed in realizing the dream of all our members here and the people of Burundi for peace and stability in their country, which they so richly deserve.

**Mr. Wang** Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation welcomes the presence here of the Deputy President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, to brief the Council about the situation in Burundi. China greatly appreciates the important role played by the South African Government and His Excellency Deputy President Zuma, as facilitator of the Burundi peace process. China welcomes the positive results achieved at the recent Summit of the Great Lakes Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi.

China notes with appreciation that, thanks to the joint efforts of all parties concerned and the efforts of the international community, the peace process in Burundi has made headway. The Transitional Government of Burundi and the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) recently signed a Global Ceasefire Agreement, which indicates an important step forward for the Burundian peace process.

We hope that all sides in Burundi can fulfil their obligations in good faith and effectively implement the provisions of the Agreement in order to bring about comprehensive peace and reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi.

The peace process in Burundi still faces many challenges. Certain anti-Government armed groups have thus far refused to join the peace process. There have recently been more armed attacks at Bujumbura, resulting in loss of life and property damage. China wishes to express its grave concern about these developments. We call upon the relevant anti-Government armed groups to bear in mind the fundamental interests of the nation, to demonstrate a spirit of national reconciliation and to speedily join the peace process.

The African mission in Burundi is an important attempt by African countries to solve their own problems through their own efforts and has played an important role in stabilizing the situation. Helping Burundi achieve comprehensive peace is not only an important task for the African Union, but also an unavoidable responsibility of the United Nations. The United Nations should enhance its coordination and cooperation with the African Union and its support to the African Union's mission in Burundi through joint efforts to maintain the current favourable momentum of the peace process in Burundi.

We note that, in his statement, Mr. Zuma expressed the hope that the United Nations can play a greater role on the issue of Burundi. China fully understands this point and is in favour of seriously examining this issue in the Security Council.

**Sir Emyr Jones Parry** (United Kingdom): I join others in welcoming the presence among us of Deputy President Zuma. I thank you, Deputy President, for your report, and I thank your country for leading the regional African Union effort in Burundi. The African Union mission in Burundi is clearly paying a key part at this moment. Peace is at a crucial juncture. We heard

a much more positive report than we might have expected 12 months ago. The parties in Burundi appear serious in their pursuit of peace. That improvement could very well last, but significant hurdles remain. Security within the country is vital if the peace process is to come to a successful conclusion: security covering the political and military integration which is going to be necessary. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration are going to be crucial, and Burundi will need help on those aspects, on the political aspects, and, very important, on the economic side.

In short, the United Kingdom believes that what we need is an integrated approach by the international community covering political and security issues; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the military; the economic development of the country; and much more. The obligation on the international community is all the greater because the Africans within Africa as a whole and within the region — are producing their own solutions. The view of the United Kingdom is that, when that happens, they require, and we are obliged to give, support to those solutions.

With regard to the United Nations, we believe that a focused intervention is necessary, covering all those areas and involving all the instruments and elements within the family of the United Nations, including — crucially, as we have heard — the role of the Economic and Social Council: in short, an integrated, coordinated approach that tackles the needs of Burundi and avoids a repetition of some of the disasters we have seen previously. There is a lot of good to build on, and we are obliged to do that.

I am confident that this is what is being planned and considered by the Secretariat. The United Kingdom would welcome advice in due course on exactly how the international community and the United Nations can respond to the present situation. How can we best support the total effort needed — but especially, how do we best secure the peace process; how do we reinforce the efforts being made on the ground, which demand our support? If that means a peacekeeping operation, then the United Kingdom is very open to that. Let us look at a spectrum of the possibilities: what is the considered advice, worked out in consultation with those most directly involved?

There is clearly a need for extra resources and extra capacity to reinforce the African mission and to deliver all the things that Burundi deserves.

I am pleased to announce that the United Kingdom, bilaterally, will now give a further $3.4 million to support the mission currently in place in Burundi and to support the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration efforts. That would be in addition to what is being done by the European Union.

**Mr. Pleuger** (Germany): First of all, I would like to thank Deputy President Zuma and the President of the Economic and Social Council, Ambassador Gert Rosenthal, for their very comprehensive and encouraging statements.

Allow me to commend South Africa for its successful mediation efforts in Burundi. After the unsuccessful summit in Dar es Salaam in September 2003, it is doubtful that agreement between the Burundian Transitional Government and the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) could have been brought about without sustained South African involvement at the highest political level.

My Government also warmly welcomes the exemplary engagement of the African Union, especially of the countries contributing troops to the African mission in Burundi. Germany supports the African mission, both bilaterally, with 400,000 euros, and through our contribution to the 25 million euros that the European Union has pledged. We believe that such strong regional involvement will remain a decisive factor also for the implementation process of the Pretoria Protocol, during which all parties involved will be faced with new and difficult challenges.

In our view, the cantonment of former combatants and their integration into the national army is a most pressing task that requires a considered and coordinated approach. The European Union provides an important contribution through the provision and distribution of food aid.

My Government favours a multi-track approach to a sustained peace process in Burundi that includes the African region, the United Nations and the donor community. The African mission in Burundi, the regional initiative, the international conference on the Great Lakes region, the United Nations Office in Burundi and United Nations agencies are all important elements in that respect. But, first and foremost, the commitment of all Burundian parties is needed.

The lack of a ceasefire agreement with Rwasa's National Liberation Forces (FNL) poses a problem that needs to be dealt with before an all-inclusive peace agreement can be signed and implemented. In order to deflect attempts from disgruntled individuals and groups to set up FNL as a magnet for elements that oppose the Arusha Agreement, as well as the Pretoria Protocol, the peace dividend must be visible and tangible, brought about by economic and social development. However, should FNL fail to enter into negotiations with the Government within the three-month period, as set out in the regional initiative, the Council might wish to consider coercive measures against those FNL leaders unwilling to cooperate, as well as a weapons embargo against FNL.

As we have heard, especially from Deputy President Zuma, there has been progress in the past, but we have also heard and seen that great challenges lie ahead to bring the peace process to a successful conclusion. Outstanding reform measures must now be tackled energetically, despite remaining resistance. We call on all Rwandan parties, and in particular on those factions within the Burundian police force and the military that are disappointed with the Pretoria Protocol, to recognize that Protocol as a real chance for lasting peace, not only for Burundi but also for the entire Great Lakes region.

**Mr. Cunningham** (United States of America): I also want to thank Deputy President Zuma for his report, which was very informative and that shows quite clearly that a lot of progress has been made in Burundi thanks to the hard work of the Deputy President, his country and many others, but obviously there still remains much to do. As Ambassador Rosenthal pointed out in his excellent overview, there is a need for all of us — the international community, the United Nations, individual countries and countries in the region — to concert our efforts to deal with the many issues that are still to be resolved in helping the Burundians find a way out of their difficulty.

We commend the Government and the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD) and the Forces nationales pour la défense de la démocratie (FDD) for progress in implementing the 8 October and 2 November Pretoria Protocols. We welcome the news of the CNDD-FDD's entry into the Transitional Government and we urge all the parties to continue to implement all agreements, including and especially the 2 December 2002 Ceasefire Agreement. Security has to be a priority if progress is to be made in all the other areas that need to be addressed.

We welcome continued support for the peace process from South Africa and others in the region and South African leadership, including the 16 November Summit of the Great Lakes Regional Initiative on Burundi. As others have done, we again urge FNL in the strongest terms to cease hostilities and join the peace process. We stress the need for the Government and FNL to use the recent meetings in Nairobi as a launching pad for positive negotiations and want to encourage Deputy President Zuma to pursue his mandate to bring FNL into the process.

I wanted to make a point of commending the African Union for its positive role in overseeing the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement and to commend the African mission in Burundi, which, as the Deputy President said, that could be considered as a shining example and a model of African engagement. It demonstrates Africa's commitment to providing African solutions to African problems. The United States strongly encourages and will support that approach. It is something that all of us in the international community should do — we must help our African friends when they step up to the challenge as they are doing here.

We are pleased that recent Ethiopian and Mozambican deployments to the African mission went smoothly. We will provide the African mission with logistical support and have recently dedicated $6.2 million for that purpose. We urge other countries to contribute to the African mission's efforts as well.

We also welcome the efforts of the United Nations Office in Burundi which, coupled with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General chairmanship of the Arusha Agreement Implementation Monitoring Committee, ensures an important United Nations role in the process.

We hope that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration will begin as soon as possible and that the Burundian Government will work closely with the World Bank to quickly establish a strong World Bank disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme in Burundi.

We welcome Belgium's efforts to organize a donor's conference in Brussels, which I understand will take place in January, and hope that many countries

will contribute to those efforts. As I said earlier, the international community needs to buttress and encourage African efforts to deal with their problems and to give them the support required when difficult decisions are needed.

We understand that Department of Peacekeeping Operations is sending an assessment team to Burundi to look at the situation on the ground. We welcome that action, look forward to the results of that mission and hope that it can lead to productive discussions in the future on solutions, including to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration components of the peace process.

**Mr. Atieh** (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation wants to welcome Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of South Africa. We thank him for the useful information he has given us in his statement. We also would like to extend our welcome to Mr. Rosenthal, President of the Economic and Social Council, and we thank him for his statement.

My delegation took note of the important declaration of the heads of State of the Great Lakes region at the 20th Summit of the Great Lakes Regional Peace Initiative, held in Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania. Syria encourages all regional initiatives and all initiatives aimed at establishing peace in the Great Lakes region, and in particular, in Burundi.

In that regard, we pay tribute to the efforts of South Africa and above all to President Mbeki, as well as to the coordinator, Mr. Zuma, and those of the African Union in support of the Transitional Government in Burundi. We thank them for working to implement the agreements signed by the parties, in particular the Pretoria Protocols, in order to ensure acceptable power-sharing at the political, defence and security levels, and so that there may be fair elections in order to bring the transitional period to its conclusion.

The Syrian Arab Republic reaffirms the importance of supporting the Great Lakes Regional Peace Initiative. We pay tribute to the efforts of the African mission in Burundi, a mission that is working successfully to fulfil its mandate. That mission has played an important role in resolving the conflict and in moving towards the establishment of peace and security in Burundi. Such regional effort requires our ongoing support in order to preserve the ceasefire between the parties and to work towards disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of ex-combatants.

My delegation associates itself with all the preceding speakers regarding the need for the international community to continue to support the African mission, and we call on the Council to contribute effectively and appropriately towards preserving the peace in Burundi in accordance with the Pretoria Agreements. The African Mission is playing an essential role at this stage in the efforts to ensure peace and security in Burundi. Logistical and financial support by the international community and by donor countries will have to be given to this Mission, so that it can play its role as planned.

**Mr. Smirnov** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, I would like to welcome to this Chamber the Deputy President of South Africa, Mr. Zuma, and I would like to thank him for the report he gave to the Security Council over this current situation of the peace process in Burundi. We are also grateful to the President of the Economic and Social Council, Mr. Rosenthal, for his contribution to our debate today.

Our meeting today does reflect the interaction and the complementarity of the United Nations bodies and of the regional efforts in trying to resolve a specific conflict situation. We note significant progress made in handling the crisis in Burundi, and this was thanks to the signing in Dar es Salaam on 16 November of the Agreement on Peace between the Government and the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) groups of Mr. Nkurunziza, with the assistance of the Governments of South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda and Tanzania.

The decision to establish a new Government in the country was a major step towards reconciliation in the country. We would note the role of the African Union and the African Mission in Burundi. Despite the rather considerable difficulties they face, they are doing everything possible to ensure that a large-scale bloody war does not break out again.

Unless there is a truly comprehensive agreement on a ceasefire, to which all of the conflicting parties must be party without any exception at all, it will not be possible to achieve a stable peace in Burundi. The Security Council has already several times called on and demanded of the Forces nationales de libération

(FNL) that they stop fighting and join in constructive talks with the central Government. Unfortunately, no significant progress has yet been achieved in that direction. The African Union and the countries that have influence there must try to do their utmost to bring influence to bear on the FNL.

We are willing to study carefully the proposals presented today to advance the peace process. It is time to put an end to the fighting in Burundi. The faster that can be done, the faster peace, stability and development can be achieved in the Great Lakes region.

**Ms. Menéndez** (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Many thanks to Deputy President Zuma for being here with us and for his briefing and also for the central role that his country and that he himself have been playing and continue to play with regard to the question on Burundi.

The signing on 8 October of the Pretoria Protocol on Political, Defence and Security Power-Sharing in Burundi is a source of satisfaction. We know that this has already led to concrete measures, such as the restructuring of the Transitional Government. This happened at the end of November when members of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) of Nkurunziza joined the Government.

Nonetheless, we believe that the process is still fragile and that there are major challenges ahead. First of all, a firm appeal must be made to the parties to take measures that strengthen the positive steps that have been taken thus far. This includes the complete implementation of the comprehensive ceasefire agreement between the Transitional Government and the CNDD-FDD of Nkurunziza, as agreed on 16 November.

Secondly, another major challenge to the peace process remains the question of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, in which the results to date have been meagre. We believe that at the present time, following the signing of the Pretoria Protocol, the time has come to make true progress on this issue. In addition, the forces of the African Mission in Burundi have been fully deployed. Thirdly, as we have said on many occasions, it needs to be reiterated that there is an appeal to the Forces nationales de libération of Agathon Rwasa to enter without delay into negotiations with the Transitional Government and join the peace process.

Lastly, we emphasize the importance of ensuring that progress at the political level lead to an improvement in the living standards of the civilian population. Unfortunately, right now the humanitarian situation has not seen any improvement. A firm appeal must be made once again to all the parties to the conflict to facilitate free, unobstructed access by the humanitarian organizations to the civilian population.

In a different context, as many other speakers have already indicated, the support of the international community to the peace process in Burundi is fundamental. We emphasize the great importance that the African Mission in Burundi has, being the first African peacekeeping operation. We emphasize the efforts that regional players are making — among them the European Union — and we believe that we must take into account the close relationship between the peace process in Burundi and holding of the international conference on the Great Lakes region. The Security Council recently devoted a session to this subject.

We believe that the consolidation of the peace process in Burundi is essential, so that the questions to be dealt with at the Conference can be dealt with in an effective manner. I also want to express thanks to the President of the Economic and Social Council for his very useful comments on the contribution of the Economic and Social Council to the peace process.

**Mr. Diallo** (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of my delegation, I would like to thank Deputy President Zuma of South Africa for his very comprehensive and relevant account of the situation in Burundi, in his capacity as facilitator. We would also like to thank the President of the Economic and Social Council, who explained the role of that body in strengthening peace in Burundi.

Remarkable progress has without a doubt been made over the last year, and particularly in the past two months in terms of a return to some normality in the country. The African Union through its Mission and the United Nations through its office in Bujumbura, along with other partners, have all made their contribution to this progress, but we must recognize there are still dangers ahead that we must try to avoid. One of those, and not the least important, is the reluctance, indeed the refusal on the part of the Forces nationales de

libération (FNL) of Agathon Rwasa to join the peace process. In that connection, I would like to hear the views of Deputy President Zuma about the best approach for encouraging the FNL to change its attitude. Indeed, in his statement he did address the preconditions it has set to definitively join in the process.

In conclusion, my delegation believes there is no way to re-establish peace in Burundi without first strengthening the presence of the African mission there, with a view to replacing it quickly by a robust and credible United Nations force.

**Mr. Tidjani** (Cameroon) (*spoke in French*): My delegation joins the previous speakers in welcoming the Deputy President of South Africa, His Excellency Jacob Zuma, and thanking him for his briefing on the developments in the peace process in Burundi. We also appreciated his analysis on the ways and means of consolidating what has been achieved to date and of gradually getting Burundi back on the path to peace, security and progress. We also thank the President of the Economic and Social Council for his excellent statement.

My delegation would like to extend its deepest appreciation to the South African Government for its commendable efforts to restore peace to Burundi and for its decisive contribution it made to the political and military protocol which was signed on 8 October in Pretoria between the Transitional Government and the Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD).

We also pay tribute to the countries in the region for their successful contributions to the regional initiative. My delegation welcomes the positive developments in Burundi, evidenced by the signing, on 16 November 2003 at Dar es Salaam, at the 20th summit of the Regional Peace Initiative on Burundi, of a power-sharing agreement on political, defence and security matters between the Transitional Government of Burundi and the faction of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) led by Pierre Nkurunziza.

Furthermore, Deputy President Zuma told us in detail about the progress that has been made. My delegation therefore warmly congratulates the Burundian parties and urges them to resolutely continue in this direction. Without their desire for reconciliation, without their ability to make the concessions necessary for a cessation of hostilities and a return to a situation conducive to the well-being of their peoples, we would not have been able to achieve the Agreement that we welcome today.

We thank President Domitien Ndayizeye for his work and his determination, from the time he assumed power, to ensure reconciliation for all Burundians and to restore peace in Burundi. The tireless efforts he has made in this area since then are admirable. We also welcome the commitment made by the parties to end hostilities, to establish the rule of law and to establish a national army. We strongly support the ultimatum given to Agathon Rwasa's National Liberation Forces (FNL) to cease hostilities and join the peace process within three months. The FNL has to understand there is no alternative to the negotiating table.

We fully agree with Deputy President Zuma's analysis of this situation. It is important that the peace process in Burundi now be given greater support by the international community on an urgent basis, particularly at this stage where there is a lack of resources for the peace process. The United Nations, the European Union and the donor community must all act quickly to maintain the momentum generated by the signing of the Agreement. In this connection, we would like to thank the European Union for offering an additional $25 million in assistance. It is important that the funds be made available shortly.

Living conditions in Burundi are among the most precarious in the world. Various spheres, including food security and protection of and access to basic services, are in need of vital humanitarian assistance. In this regard, we endorse the appeal for funds for Burundi that was issued last month by the United Nations.

The issue of refugees and displaced persons is crucial. They are the main victims of the Burundi conflict. In early 2003, there were 800,000 Burundian refugees in Tanzania and there were 300,000 displaced civilians. These numbers have increased since then because of the fighting last month between government forces and the FNL of Agathon Rwasa. The situation of the refugees and displaced persons continues to deteriorate. All necessary efforts must be employed to ensure that managing repatriation and reinstallation does not become a new source of conflict, endangering the peace process.

The peace process in Burundi is at a decisive and irreversible stage. There is no better time or opportunity for the international community to make a decisive contribution to the return of peace, security and harmony to that country that has suffered so much. It is our hope that the appeal will be heard and that it will be followed with actions.

In conclusion, I would like to say that my delegation supports the sending of a United Nations peacekeeping mission to Burundi.

**Mr. Pujalte** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Mexican delegation wants first of all to express thanks for the information given to us by Mr. Jacob Zuma, facilitator of the peace process in Burundi, and to put on record our appreciation for the important work that he has accomplished in the process of reconciliation in that country.

Mexico feels encouraged by the positive events that have occurred in Burundi, particularly in the political sphere. We welcome the Agreement reached between the Transitional Government and the Nkurunziza faction of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) which has made it possible to incorporate that rebel group into political life in the framework of the Transitional Government.

Undoubtedly, the decision of the National Liberation Forces (FNL) headed by Agathon Rwasa not to participate in negotiations with the Transitional Government has a negative impact on the peace process. We emphasize the need for progress in this regard. We recognize the valuable decision of the FNL to meet for the first time with representatives of the Transitional Government, and we invite the members of that group to continue to work in this direction.

In spite of the progress achieved in the peace process, security conditions remain fragile. The humanitarian situation has worsened, with continuous confrontations. As a result, thousands of persons have been displaced from their homes. We reiterate our condemnation of all acts of violence, and we appeal for an immediate end to the hostilities. We also appeal for unrestricted access — under safe conditions — by humanitarian organizations to the civilian population, especially the most vulnerable populations.

Considering the agreement that was reached, and with a view to consolidating the peace process, the Transitional Government will have to implement programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.

In conclusion, I thank the President of the Economic and Social Council for his briefing and comments on the assistance to be given to Burundi in the post-conflict situation. Once again, I stress that we listened most attentively to the statements of the facilitator, Mr. Zuma. Mexico intends to participate constructively in the consolidation of the process.

**Mr. Maquieira** (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): Very briefly, I wish first to thank the Deputy President of South Africa, Mr. Jacob Zuma, for his briefing today and for his important work on behalf of Burundi in his capacity as Facilitator. We also thank the Government of South Africa for its commitment to this process.

We believe that the briefing given by the President of the Economic and Social Council, whose welcome presence in the Council has become customary, was also of great interest and a valuable contribution.

The progress achieved in bringing peace and stability to Burundi is significant and the Council should welcome it, while recognizing the important challenges still facing that country. At the same time, we regret the fact that, despite the progress achieved, the Forces nationales de libération (FNL) has not found a way to associate itself with the peace process. We encourage continued efforts to incorporate the FNL into the Transitional Government.

The international community's reaction to Burundi must be immediate, because the peace process under way must be consolidated by international assistance. The assistance must be comprehensive and include economic and social aid, improvement of the humanitarian situation and assistance in national reconciliation. There is also a need to assess the best way to address security and peacekeeping problems in Burundi, be it through the African mission, renewed resources or United Nations participation. As for the Organization, a comprehensive approach will require the participation of different United Nations bodies, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

I believe that the work being done by the ad hoc group on African countries emerging from conflict of the Economic and Social Council is linked to a certain

degree to the work of the Security Council. We might consider exploring formulas, such as those mentioned by the Ambassador of Pakistan, to improve the work done by the two bodies.

In conclusion, the important thing is to consolidate peace in Burundi and the results already obtained so as to ensure that there will be no recurrence of violence in that country.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a few brief comments in my national capacity.

First, I warmly thank the Deputy President of South Africa and facilitator of the peace process in Burundi, Mr. Jacob Zuma, for his statement, which contained some good news. Above all, my delegation is very grateful to him for his tireless efforts to advance the peace process in Burundi. The perseverance and resolve with which he has undertaken his task must be welcomed. We are, of course, also grateful to his country, South Africa.

I also wish to thank the President of the Economic and Social Council for his extremely useful contribution to our debate, which shed light on the road yet to be travelled before we reach our common destination: a peaceful and stable Burundi.

My country welcomes the positive developments in the peace process in Burundi, despite its many frailties. Bulgaria, like other delegations, welcomes the Global Ceasefire Agreement, signed in Dar es Salaam on 16 November between the Government of Burundi and the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie-Forces pour la défense de la démocratie, led by Mr. Pierre Nkurunziza. That was a major step forward towards peace. We encourage the parties to implement that agreement forthwith. Bulgaria also pays heartfelt tribute to the countries of the regional initiative, which helped to arrive at the Agreement. We cannot exaggerate the importance of the positive role played by the countries of the region.

Bulgaria also duly appreciates the valuable contribution of the African Union through its deployment of the African mission to Burundi, which should be appropriately supported and assisted by the international community and the Security Council.

It is essential that the ceasefire in Burundi extend throughout the country. In that respect, like other delegations we urgently call on Mr. Rwasa Agathon of the Forces nationales de libération to abandon the military option and to join the peace process.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I would ask Deputy President Zuma and President Rosenthal if they wish to offer any additional observations in response to points raised by members of the Council.

I call on Deputy President Zuma.

**Mr. Zuma** (South Africa): I would first just introduce the colleagues I am with here. I think it is important. We have Julia Dolly Joiner of the Commission for Political Affairs of the African Union, who is sitting behind me, representing the African Union. We also have Ambassador Welile Nhlapo, who is one of the deputy heads of the African mission in Burundi, and Adonia Ayebare, who is Ambassador of Uganda in Kigali and Burundi and a deputy head of the mission in Burundi.

I thank you very much, Mr. President, for the opportunity once again to speak, and the Council members for their contributions. I believe that it is clear from those contributions that the Council appreciates the progress that has been made in Burundi. I think it is clear, too, that the Council feels that there must be support for that process, and I thank members very much for that support, which is very necessary. It is similar to that which we received when we came here exactly a year ago, and I take it as stronger this time than it was last year. Last year, we said that we had an agreement, but that there were still outstanding issues; now we are saying that there are no more outstanding issues, particularly with regard to the Conseil national pour la defence de la démocratie-Forces pour la defence de la démocratie (CNDD-FDD), led by Pierre Nkurunziza, which is the biggest armed group that was operating throughout the country. Its signing of the Agreement and joining of the process really took the process in Burundi significantly forward. As I said, they are very committed and enthusiastic. That is why they are in Bujumbura now to join the process. The peace process therefore needs the very specific support of the United Nations.

I know that organizations have procedures that at times make things move at a particular pace, but I do not know whether there are no exceptions making it possible to move quicker or to take shortcuts —

especially taking into account that we are dealing with a process that has moved far beyond those in other areas that are still struggling to find peace. By and large, we have moved beyond struggling for peace in Burundi.

We are also facing a situation in which elections are barely a year away. One of the issues that we must deal with in this process is to ensure that the elections are held — that they are not delayed — so that we can establish a democratic Government in Burundi. In a sense, I think that makes the situation even more urgent in terms of the practical support that we need to put in place with regard to Burundi. The Burundians themselves are very keen to start looking into how the elections will take place and what kind of formula will be followed. If the lack of resources causes us delays in implementing the agreements, it will also delay the important interaction between Burundians to begin to focus on the elections: first, to discuss what shape the elections must take and, secondly, to determine how Burundians will participate in the process of preparing for the elections. This is therefore a very urgent matter that requires us to act as quickly as possible. But I do feel that the members of the Council have expressed their appreciation and understanding of this situation.

I also noted that quite a few of the remarks — and indeed almost every speaker — mentioned the issue of the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People-Forces for National Liberation (PALIPEHUTU-FNL) led by Agathon Rwasa. I think it is natural that that issue should be raised. It is an issue to which we are paying full attention. I will certainly report back to the Council with regard to its concern about this matter. But, as I said in my opening statement, the Council itself has taken very specific positions on this matter in terms of calling upon the FNL to join the process. I think it is important for the Security Council to reiterate that position and to add its voice the many other voices in saying that — as has been put forth here by those who have spoken — PALIPEHUTU-FNL must join the process. Certainly, I am sure that at the end of three months the region will have to consider the matter of what else can be done to try to bring the FNL into the process. I hope that by that time, I shall have been able to interact with the FNL and, perhaps, to have prevailed in making it part of the process. So I note that that question had been raised.

I note also that there were specific questions in that connection regarding what I believe is the best thing to do. I believe it was our colleague from Guinea who asked the question. I believe that pressure must be exerted by everyone; in other words, the calls to PALIPEHUTU-FNL must come from everyone. But I also believe that if the FNL does not see itself as part of the process — meaning, therefore, that it is standing alone against the entire population of Burundi — and if it believes it to be proper for it to carry on with its negative activities, it will, in a sense, be defining itself as being apart from those who want peace in Burundi. I am sure all of us will have to sit down and ask ourselves what we can do in that circumstance. I am also sure it should be a collective decision by everyone — not just by the Burundians, the region or the continent, but also by the international community and, in particular, the United Nations.

Certainly, after three months we will have to indicate where we are with the FNL. I am very hopeful that the FNL will heed the situation, particularly because since the signing of the Agreement, things are not well within the FNL itself. A large number of its armed forces have walked over to join the forces of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD). We are also aware that there is great disagreement from within with regard to those who want to come into the peace process — and they are reported to be in the majority. Unfortunately, its leader holds a different view, even if that is not a majority view. We have to work to find out what it is that can be done to persuade him, because we want to find a peaceful solution and a better way to persuade them to come into the process. I believe that the current activities might have a positive impact on the FNL joining the process.

I would also like to express my appreciation for the statement made by the President of the Economic and Social Council. I think it was a very clear statement, and we appreciate it.

I also wish to convey my appreciation for the position put forth with regard to the very practical and concrete offers made by both the United Kingdom and the United States of America in terms of the specific amounts they have said they will make available to put forward bilaterally to support the peace process. That is highly appreciated. I am sure that the appreciation I am expressing is also that of the continent. That will be of great practical and concrete assistance in helping us to move forward. I think that really provides a practical

example for the Council, namely, that the Council must itself be able to take very positive decisions.

I am very grateful for that support. I think it means a lot — not only to Burundians and the Great Lakes region, but to the continent as a whole. I appreciate what has been done. I feel humbled indeed by the support given today.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I thank Deputy President Zuma for his comments. I would like to thank him once again for his very useful participation in our work today.

I now give the floor to the President of the Economic and Social Council to make additional comments.

**Mr. Rosenthal**: I have just one brief point of information I would like to share with the members of the Council. The Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Burundi, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Kumalo, visited Burundi a week ago. Its members are Burundi, Ethiopia, France, Japan and South Africa. I joined them as President of the Economic and Social Council; and the Permanent Mission of Angola joined them as the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Advisory Group of African Countries Emerging from Conflict. We hope that the report — the collective opinion of the members of that Group — will be ready in early January. Of course, we will share it with the members of the Security Council as soon as it is ready.

**The President** (*spoke in French*): I thank the President of the Economic and Social Council for his additional comments.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.*